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The Canadian Historical Review

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A "PRACTICAL" PLEA

IN days of financial stringency especially, public money must be spent with care and economy. It is equally important that governments under the pressure of immediate circumstances do not adopt a penny-wise-pound-foolish policy that may result later in heavy and perhaps irreparable loss. The "practical" plea for the preservation of historical records is too seldom put forward. We wish that the following statement included by Dr. Doughty in the last report of the Public Archives at Ottawa could be read and carefully considered by every elected representative in the dominion. Its argument could be proved to the hilt with illustrations many times over.

A determined effort was made to prove that the principal function of the Archives is not merely to meet the requests of private individuals or even of educational institutions, but to keep and preserve the records for the proper conduct of public business and the accurate determination of dominion, provincial, municipal and individual rights. The commercial value of the records to the nation and to the business man was recognized and financial support was provided. In the annals of the courts during the last twenty-five years there is abundant evidence that vast sums have been saved to the nation as well as to the public by the timely production of documents, surveys, maps and plans at one time considered worthless. The great monetary value, to the Governments and private citizens, of material rescued from destruction is apt to be overlooked by those who use the Archives solely for historical purposes. Nevertheless it is the duty of the Archivist to bear it in mind and to shape his policy, in the acquirement, arrangement and classification of the records, in accord with all the needs which a Department of Public Archives should meet. Few people are aware of the work that is carried on in the Archives, or of the condition that large quantities of records were in a quarter of a century ago. Hundreds of thousands of documents now in an excellent state of preservation, in portfolios or neatly bound volumes, were received in a dirty, dilapidated state, and, before they were safe or fit to handle, had to be cleaned, pressed and repaired. Thousands of maps that seemed fit only for the rubbish heap have been skilfully treated, and with care will last indefinitely. Much of this one-time discarded material is now a most valuable national asset.

Invaluable work has been done by the dominion and in some of the provinces through archives, public libraries, and historical societies. In some of the provinces and in most of the municipalities throughout the country the indifference is appalling. At the moment the most pressing need is in the provincial field. The Quebec Archives, with very generous support from government, has done excellent work for many years. Its publications are a mine of information, admirable facilities are provided for students, and its building and fine exhibits are a centre of public interest. During the past five years a remarkable advance has been made in Nova Scotia where the situation previously was deplorable. Thanks to the generous private gift of a very fine building, and to a wise policy on the part of government which has put the control of the archives outside the range of politics, the archives has become a centre of public interest and an important force in the life of the community. New Brunswick has now a very fine museum building and we can only hope that the opportunity of developing a provincial archives will be grasped before there is further loss of valuable materials through destruction or neglect. British Columbia has a well-organized archives which has done valuable work. Ontario, among the first of the provinces to establish its archives, has a large collection of material which may be greatly increased from collections scattered throughout the province. The Ontario Archives is greatly handicapped by lack of accommodation for exhibits which would arouse public interest. In the other provinces, although something is being done by parliamentary and other libraries, the story is, unfortunately, for the most part one of neglect. The historical celebrations of the present year show clearly a widespread interest in Canada's history. Provincial governments may well consider that, even from the political point of view, they stand to gain by providing the modest financial support which would make possible a real advance in the development of provincial archives.

Governments will find that the advice and assistance of interested and well-trained people will be given gladly and without expense, which to say the least is not usual in cases where the expert is called in. If manuscripts commissions, serving without emolument, were set up, they could speedily point the way to the collection and preservation of materials of the greatest historic value which now seem destined for destruction.

It is neither practical nor advisable that the preservation of

provincial records should be undertaken by the Dominion Archives. Centralization would here defeat its own aims. Provincial records should be available for consultation both by students and government departments in the capital of the province. There are provincial interests and loyalties which can only be served adequately by the province itself.

In all seriousness, on practical not merely on sentimental grounds, we urge the plea for adequate support of archives and historical studies. No self-respecting society can neglect or wantonly destroy the records of its own development without living to regret it.

I. D. ANDREWS AND RECIPROCITY IN 1854: AN EPISODE IN DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

ISRAEL D. ANDREWS was United States consul at St. John, New Brunswick, when Canada was precipitated into a series of commercial problems by Great Britain's adoption of the policy of free trade. He was a native of Eastport, Maine,¹ and had been engaged in early youth in the northern trade, which consisted more or less of smuggling. When still a boy and required to work all night in this illicit traffic, he was struck with the absurdity of two peoples, with the same language and habits and separated only by a political line, being obliged to conduct their exchange in this manner, and so he became an advocate of free trade early in life.² As consul in 1845-6, he had been in correspondence with James Buchanan, then secretary of state, regarding the colonial trade, with particular reference to the coming changes in the trade policy of Great Britain. He was relieved of his consulship in 1849 and appointed special agent by Clayton, then secretary of state in the United States, to visit Canada and the lower provinces and to collect statistical information relating to their trade.³ Upon his arrival in Canada he applied to W. H. Merritt for aid. Merritt had been the chief promoter of the Welland Canal and had headed a Canadian delegation to Washington in 1848, to induce congress to provide for reciprocity in natural products by legislative action.⁴ Merritt referred Andrews to Thomas C. Keefer, who was known to be an authority on statistics. Keefer corresponded with Andrews from September, 1849, until April, 1850, furnishing him with returns of trade, tonnage of canal traffic, *etc.*, which he had

¹Israel DeWolf Andrews was born in Eastport, Maine, in May, 1813, and died in Boston, February 17, 1871. His grandfather went from Danvers, Mass., to Horton, N.S., where in 1738 he married Elizabeth DeWolf, for whose family Wolfville, N.S., was named. I. D. Andrews's father was born in Nova Scotia but he moved to Eastport, Maine, where he died in 1821.

²Thomas C. Keefer, *The rise and progress of the Reciprocity Treaty* (Toronto, 1863), 5.

³United States Department of State Archives, *Special missions, 1823-53*, 277-8.

⁴As a result of Merritt's arguments before the committees of commerce of both Houses of Congress, Joseph Grinnell, chairman of the House committee on commerce, drew up a bill providing for free trade in natural products. The bill passed the House on July 12, 1848, but failed in the senate. Andrews had been called to Washington, after the bill had passed the House, to confer with the secretary of state. He opposed the bill as being too narrow, urging that it be expanded into a general reciprocity measure to secure the rights of the United States to the British North American fisheries, and to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence River. He was requested to explain his views to Webster, Calhoun, and other senators and it was largely in consequence of this action that the progress of the bill was arrested in the senate (Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 5).

collected with unusual industry, since few reliable statistics were published at that time.⁵

After the failure of the Grinnell bill, which had been opposed as being too narrow, another reciprocity bill was reported in the United States House of Representatives, in May, 1850, providing for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence River in addition to free trade in natural products. President Taylor sent a special message to congress accompanied with the diplomatic correspondence, thus throwing into the lap of congress⁶ the whole question of the constitutionality of a trade treaty and the question as to whether the British offer constituted real reciprocity. The president's death and the rising agitation over slavery prevented further action in that year. Andrews's first report was published in February, 1851. In July he was again commissioned by Corwin, the secretary of the treasury, to visit the British North American provinces and "collect full and complete statements of their trade and commerce . . . for 1850-51 . . .".⁷ His first report had been made by order of the executive, but the second was called for under a resolution of the senate. Keefer, who was employed in the preparation of this voluminous report which was published in 1853,⁸ wrote concerning it: "Whether it was ordered for the benefit of the printers—the source of many public documents—or to stave off a disagreeable question, on the plea of 'further information required', it is impossible to say."⁹ Keefer prepared a circular which he sent to each customs officer with instructions to "fill up the enclosed blanks" and send them directly to I. D. Andrews. He joined Andrews at the Astor House in New York in February and they laboured on the report until April.¹⁰ When it was completed Keefer sent copies to various members of the government in Canada whose replies contain much praise of the report but little hope for its success in influencing congress to pass a reciprocity measure. Keefer later went to England and presented a copy to Baring Brothers.¹¹

Trouble on the fishing banks and the attendant difficulties in

⁵*Ibid.*, 7.

⁶The British minister in Washington had been negotiating since 1846 for a reciprocity treaty between the British North American provinces and the United States but the executive in the United States regarded a tariff made by treaty as questionable on constitutional grounds.

⁷Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 8.

⁸*Senate executive document*, no. 23, 31 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 775.

⁹Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 8.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹¹Public Archives of Canada, *The Baring papers*, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1853: Keefer to Baring, July 5, 1853.

connection with the seizure of fishing vessels postponed action for a short time, but under the powerful influence of Baring Brothers and their intimate financial connections in the United States, which probably included the secretary of state, Webster himself, negotiations were resumed.¹²

Pierce became president in March, 1853, and appointed Marcy secretary of state and Buchanan minister to England. Buchanan offered Andrews a post as an attaché which the latter was able to refuse gracefully. Andrews conferred with the president and the secretary of state in the summer of 1853 with reference to a *projet* for a treaty of reciprocity, and in September he was again sent as a special agent to the British North American provinces to "explain in a proper manner to the leading colonists the causes which have retarded its [the treaty's] progress".¹³ His instructions contained the advice that "The Government is aware that the Colonies are not agreed nor united on the question of reciprocal trade and the fisheries, and that a treaty which would be satisfactory to Canada might not be acceptable in the lower Colonies, particularly New Brunswick and Nova Scotia".¹⁴ Andrews was well acquainted with the problem which he faced in the Maritime Provinces, but the continued opposition of certain leaders in Nova Scotia caused him to write to Marcy in 1854 suggesting that a few thousand dollars be placed to his credit in order that he might silence opposition and promote a more favourable attitude towards the proposed treaty.¹⁵

Marcy was not enthusiastic about the employment of such means; but when he discussed the matter with President Pierce, he found the president more interested in bringing about a successful conclusion of the treaty than he had imagined.¹⁶ On April 12, Andrews was informed that five thousand dollars had been placed to his credit and that the "President is expecting you to produce results which I heartily trust may be the case".¹⁷ Andrews made the most of his means and later advised the Department of State of the necessity of expending more funds.¹⁸ He wrote to Marcy, May 13, 1854:

¹²Adam Shortt, "The financial development of British North America, 1840-67" (*Cambridge history of the British Empire*, VI, 389).

¹³Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 12.

¹⁴Instructions dated Sept. 12, 1853. See Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 12.

¹⁵*Marcy papers, Ms., XLIX*, in Charles C. Tansill, *The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854* (Baltimore, 1922), 67.

¹⁶United States Department of State Archives, *Special agents, 1849*, Israel D. Andrews, XVI, 154. See also Tansill, *The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty*, 68.

¹⁷*Special agents*, XVI, 155: Caleb Cushing to Andrews.

¹⁸During this period, and apparently without authority, Andrews ran up expenses in excess of \$18,000 in the lower provinces.

I found it necessary to disburse money very liberally; and shall probably require a larger sum than I asked for at the outset. . . . I am fully justified in stating to you openly and fairly, that any expenditure of money within a reasonable amount would be a mere "bagatelle" in comparison with the immensely valuable privileges to be gained *permanently*, and the power and influence that would be given for ever to our Confederacy.¹⁹

A meeting of delegates from each colony was arranged, largely by Andrews, to be held in New York late in May, 1854, to discuss the terms of the proposed treaty. Lord Elgin and the British minister to the United States were to meet with these delegates to ascertain their views before proceeding with the negotiation of a treaty. M. H. Perley, of the government immigration office at St. John, wrote to Keefer on May 4: "I have been at Boston to meet Andrews . . . Matters are beginning to look like a treaty—things are coming to a head at last. . . . Andrews has done good service in getting delegates appointed, and smoothing many difficulties, both here and in Nova Scotia."²⁰ Something of Andrews's views may be seen in a despatch which Marcy received from him on May 13, 1854: "It was at first proposed that the Convention should be held as early as the 10th of May, but I consented to postpone it until the 27th, on account of the elections in Nova Scotia, which take place on the sixteenth instant." The despatch reveals the methods employed by Andrews on this special mission. He continued, with reference to the violent opposition in New Brunswick:

I have therefore taken such measures as the circumstances of the case required . . . to moderate the opposition, and keep the public mind in a quiet state.

Sir Edmund Head, the Lt. Governor of New Brunswick is very desirous that a Treaty should be concluded, but is unwilling to

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 77-97. In explanation of the nature of the expenses Andrews wrote: "Once the Colonists were anxious . . . Since that period, and more especially within the last two years, various Circumstances have combined to increase the Trade, Commerce, and prosperity of the British North American Provinces, and to produce precisely that adverse state of public feeling, and general hostility to a Settlement of the Fishery difficulty, which I then anticipated. . . . Although these remarks apply to all Colonies, yet they are more especially applicable to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In the former of those Provinces, there is political ability of a high order, but it is in combination with political excitement of a more rancorous character than exists in any other of the Colonies." Andrews reported that he had been well received by the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Gaspard LeMarchant, whom he found "favorably disposed, moderate in his views and quite willing to assume any responsibility with respect to the Negotiations, that the exigencies of the case might seem to demand. We quite agreed as to the practical character of the measures required; yet we did not attempt to deceive each other as to the state of public opinion, or as to the difficulties in our path" . . . (*ibid.*, 71-6).

²⁰Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 13.

assume any responsibility in order to effect it. His Sharpness, Characteristic caution, and "red tape" mode of business contrast unfavorably with the promptness, decision, and manly straightforwardness of Sir Gaspard Le Marchant in Nova Scotia.

Fortunately I was able to reach Fredrickton before the New Brunswick Legislature was adjourned, and prevent any discussion of the propositions now under Consideration, or any legislative action of an Adverse character, which would have been exceedingly injurious in the present temper of the public mind.²¹

Andrews informed Marcy that New Brunswick would send delegates to the proposed convention with "requisite instructions". "They are men of high character, but will weigh and consider on local issues. If they want to change the place of meeting, I respectfully request that you make no objections since it will not effect the negotiations."²² Further evidence of the part that Andrews played in these negotiations may be found in a private despatch to him from the lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island:

I am glad United States are desirous to come to amicable settlement. I will send a delegate and he will be made aware of Mr. Marcy's views. I would insert the word *drying* fish—on shore and curing.

Thank Marcy for his kind remarks about me and—we very much regret that the state of navigation deprived us of a visit from you.²³

Lord Elgin arrived in Washington about the time when the famous Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. Party strife was at its highest pitch and it was generally believed that no reciprocity treaty could pass the senate in that session.²⁴ Success was, however, achieved. Elgin played a part in gaining the goodwill of the southern Democrats, as is vividly told by his private secretary who describes the dinner where they imbibed champagne and swore eternal friendship.²⁵ The treaty was signed on June 5, and, after numerous difficulties and delays, the bill giving effect to it was brought up for its final passage late in the session. A ten-minute speech or the opposition of a single member would have killed it. It could not have borne discussion, for the chief inducement to the United States was the fisheries, which many claimed as clearly theirs by previous treaty and usage.²⁶ It was clear that

²¹*Special agents*, XVI, 79. It is significant to note that Andrews later revealed that \$15,000 of Canadian money was spent in getting members returned in Nova Scotia who would favour a reciprocity treaty (*ibid.*, XVII, 302-4).

²²*Ibid.*, 80.

²³Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 317, p. 364: Sir Alexander Bannermann to Andrews, April 28, 1854.

²⁴Tansill, *The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty*, 76.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 77-9.

²⁶Keeler, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 14.

the eastern states and New York might benefit by the fisheries. The western states were passive because of the provision which opened the St. Lawrence Waterway to their shipping. The anthracite coal interest, still hostile to the admission of Nova Scotian coal, was assuaged in its opposition by finding that the product of the Pennsylvania mines was already winning its way to consumption in the provinces. The fact that Cunard, himself a proprietor of Nova Scotian collieries, actually supplied his steamers at Halifax with Pennsylvania coal, broke down resistance from that quarter.²⁷ Although the movement for annexation in Canada had died down quickly, the fact was not readily appreciated by the southern senators and they were still fearful of the formation of a tier of new free-soil states on the north; but some of them secretly desired the treaty so that the people of Canada would be economically satisfied and not want annexation to the United States.²⁸ The demand of the southern group that sugar and tobacco be put on the free list was partially satisfied by the addition of rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, and unmanufactured tobacco. The possibilities of obstruction were great, but all verbal opposition had been met before the bill came up for its final passage. Andrews had made his arrangements admirably by "anticipating, satisfying, or deporting opposition" so that the measure passed in silence.²⁹ If the treaty had been put over until the next session, it could not have withstood a year's consideration by the various interests in the United States. After the passage of the treaty, thousands of dollars, collected as duties in 1854, were returned to Canadian shippers. Lord Elgin closed his administration in triumph and his premier, Francis Hincks, who had opposed Merritt's reciprocity movement seven years before, did not disclaim the credit which he obtained by virtue of his position. The governor-general and the colonial delegates, the British minister and the United States secretary of state, "formed a tableau of political glory as brilliant and as deceptive as the variegated 'fizzle' which ends a theatrical performance—made their bow to an admiring audience and dissolved the long standing partnership, leaving Andrews to wind-up the business—and pay the debts!"³⁰

During the years preceding the passage of the treaty, Andrews was engaged in the dual rôle of special agent to compile statistics

²⁷*North American review*, LXXIX, 480.

²⁸*Congressional globe*, 38 Cong., 2 sess., 210, 230. See Tansill, *The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty*, 76-7.

²⁹Keefe, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 14.

³⁰*Ibid.*

and make reports, and propagandist. He maintained headquarters in the Astor House in New York, where his report was prepared, and in the National Hotel in Washington, where his suite was the rendezvous of many important personages who visited that city in the interests of reciprocity.³¹ Leading politicians, merchants, and manufacturers, in passing through either city, were invited to dine with Andrews, and on these occasions reciprocity was made the subject of conversation. "Most men appreciate a good dinner, and Andrews purposely acquired a reputation for his. Thus men who could not be reached at other hours—but who must dine somewhere—gave him his opportunity—for valuable and agreeable consideration."³² Another means employed by Andrews to influence public opinion was the preparation of articles for insertion in the leading magazines and newspapers.³³ Where the opposition was strong, as at Buffalo, much perseverance and discretion were needed to remove objections. He visited the place and the people in person "and he was in every case successful".³⁴ The success of the reciprocity movement seemed to depend, to a large measure, on an Andrews who could approach everybody, appease everybody, and offend no one. Keefer, who was in Andrews's pay as an assistant, wrote that Andrews was "as active and efficient in the Lower Colonies, where he was well known, as in congress—the legislative navigation of which he thoroughly understood".³⁵ Andrews prided himself that he had converted the issue from a Canadian to an imperial question and thus made it possible to negotiate a *formal treaty*. He had always opposed the early attempts at *reciprocal legislation*.

The amount of money spent by Andrews in this affair was far in excess of the sum paid by the United States government.³⁶ His

³¹*Special agents*, XVII, 695-7.

³²Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 15-6. One item on Andrews's account submitted to the United States government in 1859 was a hotel bill for \$12,111.32.

³³See *Hunt's merchants magazine*, XXVIII, 275-88, XXX, 561-76; *DeBow's review*, XIII, 109-27, XIV, 525-35, XV, 200-3; *North American review*, LXXIV, 168ff., LXXIX, 464ff. The editor of the *North American review* wrote, in October, 1854, that Andrews had "done more than any or all other men to bring about the result upon which we have now congratulated our readers". He "has been for years employed as a confidential agent by the State Department, to collect information and bring influence to bear for the consummation of this arrangement" (*North American review*, LXXIX, 484).

³⁴Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 16.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 13.

³⁶The register of the treasury reported in June, 1859, that Andrews had received \$18,299.63 in accordance with a resolution of March 8, 1851, and \$12,159.56 in 1853. These sums were drawn by Andrews to cover necessary expenses in compiling reports. His later claim against the government for money to pay the debts which he had contracted amounted to about \$90,000 (*Special agents*, XVII, 361).

"expenses" and money promised for services probably exceeded two hundred thousand dollars and a large part of the amount which was paid was appropriated by the Canadian government to satisfy claims of Andrews or of his creditors and assignees. He had been assured from the highest authorities in both countries that, if the treaty passed, all would be paid cheerfully, and to secure its passage he did everything and promised everything which the principals should have done but could not do.³⁷ Expenses for numerous journeys from Washington to Canada and the North-west, the employment of editors and correspondents to advocate his views, expensive maps, together with large sums promised to those who assisted him, made up a formidable bill which remained unpaid or was paid with borrowed money at the time the treaty was passed. These and other expenses, beyond the amount originally authorized by the executive in the United States, were included in his claim against the United States government, which came, unfortunately for Andrews, under the view of an administration politically hostile to him. The payment of his claim was provided for in 1858 when congress passed a law to that effect, hiding the appropriation in an obscure part of an act making appropriations for "sundry civil expenses for the Government for the year ending June 30, 1859".³⁸ But the claim was not paid. Andrews made many petitions, and although the Department of State recognized his claim,³⁹ no agreement could be reached as to the amount due him. As late as 1867, four years before his death, Andrews was pleading with Secretary Seward to settle at a figure "much lower than the original amount".⁴⁰ Following the passage of the act by congress which provided for payment of his claim "on the principles of equity and justice", Andrews submitted a general affidavit in which he stated

³⁷Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 19.

³⁸*Congressional globe*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., appendix, 571. Sec. 16 reads: "And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of State be, and is hereby authorized to adjust, upon principles of equity and justice, the accounts of I. D. Andrews, late agent of the United States, for expenses and disbursements in connection with the reciprocity treaty, and that the same be paid according to said adjustment."

³⁹Francis H. Ruggles, an officer in the Department of State reviewed the claim in 1862 and recommended payment. He stated that "Notwithstanding the evidence accumulated to show the confidential character and the value of the services . . . Secretary Marcy and President Pierce have substantially allowed them all, in making such payments as they did; of portions in no manner distinguished from the rest . . . After paying over \$3,100 on Mr. Andrews' hotel bill and over \$3,600 toward his confidential expenditures in the British Provinces, no reason can be discerned for refusing payment of any portion of his accounts, unless it was the want of funds to meet so large a demand. . . . A large portion of these accounts are in the form of credits to Mr. Andrews who has been sued, and sometimes imprisoned for portions of this indebtedness" (*Special agents*, XVII, 401-2).

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 469-70: Nov. 11, 1867.

that the peculiar nature of the service rendered prevented his keeping an accurate record or stated account of the specific services rendered from day to day, but he insisted that he had spent twenty thousand dollars of his own money and was legally indebted to the amount of sixty thousand, exclusive of money already received.⁴¹

In 1862, in a letter to the House committee on commerce, Andrews revealed that he had not done the work alone. He mentioned Henry V. Poor, editor of the *Railroad journal*, Thomas C. Keefer, M. H. Perley of the government immigration office at St. John, N.B., John L. Hayes, the Hon. Joseph Howe, then provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, and N. Davidson of the Treasury Department, among those who had given him substantial aid. He stated that he had paid one of them nearly twelve thousand dollars during the five years of his labours for the treaty,⁴² and from this one instance the magnitude of the outlay may perhaps be estimated.

The Canadian government paid Thomas Rigney, the representative of a large Canadian publishing house in New York, three thousand pounds currency on October 25, 1854, apparently to be transferred to Andrews, "to reimburse the expenditure made through him in disseminating information during the last six years in connection with the subject of reciprocity".⁴³ This was understood to be "payment in full for all disbursements and expenditures in relation to reciprocity"; but less than two years after this settlement the whole subject was reopened by the presentation of a petition by Andrews "for compensation for services rendered and monies disbursed in procuring the assent of the Cabinet and Congress at Washington to the Reciprocity Treaty".⁴⁴ The Canadian committee of council refused the claim because the documents and information furnished were not of "such precise character as to enable them to recommend payment . . .".⁴⁵ However, the inspector general, the Hon. W. Cayley, submitted a report on November 26, 1854, after making an investigation of the claim. He advised the council that he had "gone carefully over the ground of the claim brought forward by Mr. I. D. Andrews to be reim-

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 192: April 29, 1859.

⁴²Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 19.

⁴³Public Archives of Canada, *Series E, State book O*, 445. Rigney was employed by Andrews, with Marcy's approval, "to work continuously for \$2.50 per day and expenses". In a claim against the United States government Andrews showed that he had paid Rigney \$7,460.60 for "printing and distributing petitions in the British Provinces and elsewhere" (*Special agents*, XVII, 299).

⁴⁴Public Archives of Canada, *State book Q*, 430-1.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

bursed the expenses attendant on the passage of the Reciprocity Bill through Congress", and he summarized the case briefly in an order-in-council as follows:

That Mr. Andrews was the acting Parliamentary Agent to carry the Reciprocity Bill through Congress.

That to carry the bill through speedily and successfully, it was found necessary to subsidize many parties both within and without the walls of Congress.

That Mr. Andrews before being committed to any steps had previously made Lord Elgin aware of the necessity; had asked his approval to incur the necessary expenditure, had received that approval through John Ross, Speaker of the Legislative Council.

That the expenditure so incurred in subsidizing some ninety individuals amounted to \$118,000.00, that no personal allowance or recompense was included or sought for by Mr. Andrews.

That of this amount Mr. Andrews expects to be reimbursed \$25,000 by the United States Government, \$20,000 by Boston, \$20,000 by the cities of Oswego and New York, leaving \$53,000 as a claim against the Canadian Government.

That he is not in a position to place the names of the Parties to whom he has either disbursed or promised money by way of acknowledgment for services rendered in any statement of Account.

Mr. Andrews shews by an account submitted by Mr. Hayes that no portion of the demand now made was included in the sum of Three thousand pounds placed in the Estimates of Autumn of 1854, and paid to Mr. Rigney.

The Inspector General feels great hesitation in giving an opinion on this claim, the amount is large, the evidence on which it is sustained is very meagre, it is much to be regretted that the claim was not made at the time when payment was allowed to Mr. Rigney while Lord Elgin was in the Country and would have aided the Council in arriving at an equitable conclusion.

That the benefit of the Reciprocity Treaty to Canada is admitted by the whole Mercantile community in the Province and any legitimate expenditure incurred in bringing it about under the sanction of the late Governor General may be deemed a proper charge on the public chest.

That the difficulty in the present case arises from the secret nature of the Service, the impossibility without breach of confidence to establish the disbursements and the delay that has intervened between the expenditure and the application for repayment.

The Committee respectfully report that in the absence of sufficient evidence before them of the nature and extent of Mr. Andrews' claim, they do not feel justified in taking action thereon, but they recommend that Mr. Andrews be informed that the Government will assent to the reference of his claim to a Special Committee of the Legislative Assembly who having the power to examine persons and papers have thereby the means of coming to a conclusion and reporting on the facts.⁴⁶

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 640-2.

Before the legislative assembly of United Canada considered the claim recognized by the above order-in-council, the Hon. Lewis T. Drummond moved that the governor-general, Sir Edmund Head, lay before the House all petitions "in relation to the expense incurred in securing the establishment of the system of Reciprocal Commercial Intercourse now happily existing between the United States of America and this Province".⁴⁷ This motion carried. In a return to this address the governor-general sent a petition of the Toronto Board of Trade dated June 7, 1856, which said in part:

That from various evidence laid before this Body your Memorialists are satisfied that a large sum of money remains due, and payable by the Government of this Province to individuals residing in the *United States*, for expenses actually incurred, and money paid to secure the passage of the Reciprocity Treaty with the *United States*.

Your Memorialists are satisfied, from the facts referred to, that the faith of the Government of this Province was pledged to the full liquidation of these expenses . . . , they consider that it would be a serious blot on our character for Commercial integrity, if any such just claims should remain unpaid longer than necessary.⁴⁸

The assembly then appointed a select committee composed of Messrs. Drummond, Wilson, Holton, Loranger, and Angus Morrison, with power to send for persons, papers, and records, and the Hon. Étienne P. Taché, speaker of the legislative council, and the Hon. John Ross were called to give evidence.⁴⁹ On June 8, 1857, Drummond presented the committee's report, which read as follows:

Your Committee, having carefully investigated the matter referred to them, find that pecuniary engagements to the amount of about sixteen thousand pounds, were incurred under the sanction of the late Governor General, and his responsible advisers, with the view of securing the success of the negotiations with the United States of America, for the establishment of Reciprocal Free Trade between that Country and the British North American Provinces.

And your Committee are therefore of the opinion, that the Government of this Province is bound in honor and good faith to make immediate provision for the liquidation of these engagements.⁵⁰

In pursuance of this report the council issued a warrant in favour of Thomas G. Ridout, cashier of the Bank of Upper Canada,⁵¹ for

⁴⁷*Journals of the legislative assembly*, 3 sess., 5 Parl., 378-9.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 408.

⁴⁹*Journals of the legislative council*, 3 sess., 5 Parl., 389. Ross, according to the inspector general's report of 1856, had authorized Andrews to make the necessary expenditures.

⁵⁰*Journals of the legislative assembly*, 3 sess., 5 Parl., 678.

⁵¹This sum was paid to the Bank of Upper Canada to meet the liabilities contracted by the Hon. A. T. Galt and a portion of those contracted by the Hon. L. T. Drummond as sureties for Mr. Andrews (Public Archives of Canada, *State book V*, 344-5).

ten thousand pounds, "being the only amount which the Government, as at present advised, feel warranted in appropriating for the claim".⁵² But Drummond was persistent and on August 24, 1859, he applied to council, on behalf of Andrews, for payment of the balance of six thousand pounds. He was advised that the payment of the amount alleged to be due Andrews could not be made.⁵³

Thomas Rigney, in a letter dated February 26, 1862, submitted a claim of \$7,432.72 for cash, plus interest, alleged to have been advanced by him on the authority of a member of the provincial cabinet to further the passage through congress of the Reciprocity Treaty.⁵⁴ Since council had issued a warrant in his favour for three thousand pounds on October 25, 1854, and had paid another sum of ten thousand pounds through the Bank of Upper Canada in settlement of expenses "alleged to have arisen out of the passage of the measure in question", Rigney was advised that the last payment made to him was intended as a final adjustment to the claim and that the government could not consent to a reconsideration of it.⁵⁵

Later in the same year, Drummond presented another request to pay the balance due to Andrews. The attorney-general for Lower Canada, John Sandfield Macdonald, reviewed the case and reported, in part, as follows:

.... That it is admitted Mr. Andrews was employed by the Canadian Government to place himself in communication with the Merchants of the principal cities, and the Press of the United States with the view of making known the advantages of a Treaty of Reciprocity between Canada and that country, and that his expenses should be defrayed by the Canadian Government.

That the Legislature has voted at different times divers sums to defray part of these expenses.

That on the sum of £16,000 a payment of £10,000 has been made, leaving a balance due of £6,000.

.... That whatever may be the nature of those expenses or their amount the faith of the country is pledged to the payment of the £16,000 as well as the £10,000.

That after examining the claim of Mr. Andrews and the circumstances, he has just stated he is of the opinion that this debt must be discharged in full in accordance with the report of the Special Committee and that the sum of £6,000, with interest since 1857, should be placed in the Estimates of 1863.⁵⁶

⁵²Public Archives of Canada, *State book R*, 488.

⁵³Public Archives of Canada, *State book U*, 418.

⁵⁴Public Archives of Canada, *State book X*, 109-10.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶*State book Y*, 343-6.

The council concurred in this recommendation of the attorney-general and on June 25, 1864, after some delay, a bill, introduced by W. P. Howland, passed the legislative assembly by a vote of 59 to 17, providing for the final settlement of the claim.⁵⁷ A. T. Galt, minister of finance, submitted a report to council on the claim and recommended that warrants be issued for payments in full of sums reported to be due to the Bank of Upper Canada and to Rigney, except in the case of Andrews by whom the discharge would be given on account, and that the balance be held over until the parties interested should unite in a statement of the amounts due them respectively, and lodge the same in the Finance Department.⁵⁸

Galt explained in council that disputes existed among the parties concerning the amount due, "which the undersigned does not consider the Government is called upon to determine".⁵⁹ He cited the report of the auditor which showed that the sum which the legislature had voted, £6,000 plus interest, amounted to \$34,387.70. He explained that the claimants appeared to be Rigney and Andrews, the claim of the latter being assigned in trust to several parties. Rigney's claim by this date amounted to \$8,131.60 including interest. Galt pointed out that Andrews had made three assignments, first, to the Bank of Upper Canada for two notes amounting to \$14,370.91; second, to Whitney for a claim amounting to \$12,578.00; and third, to L. T. Drummond for \$1,655.00. Andrews was to receive the residue after these claims had been satisfied. The council following Galt's advice issued a warrant for the two notes held by the Bank of Upper Canada and for Rigney's claim. The remainder was to be held until the claimants united in a statement of the amount due each.

Early in the next year, George W. Brega,⁶⁰ of New York, who

⁵⁷ *Journals of the legislative assembly*, 2 sess., 8 Parl., 444.

⁵⁸ Public Archives of Canada, *State book AA*, 259.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* See also *Orders in council, Series E*, Aug. 27, 1864.

⁶⁰ Brega had been in the service of the United States government under the direction of Andrews for more than three years before the passage of the treaty. The nature of Brega's services was such that it was not possible for Andrews to convince the Department of State that Brega had actually performed services for which he was to receive \$7,896.00. This portion of Andrews's claim is one of the cloudy places and we are led to think that perhaps Brega was a sinister influence upon Andrews. In 1868, Brega was a commissioner of the Treasury Department and in that capacity submitted a report on trade with Canada in answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives of March 7, 1868. Previous reports to congress had condemned the treaty and had advised against renewal of reciprocal free trade but Brega argued vehemently for renewal in this report (*House executive document*, no. 240, 40 Cong., 2 sess.). In this connection it is significant to note that a Canadian railway magnate recalled that John A. Macdonald gave Brega \$5,000 in gold "(equal to \$10,000 in greenbacks)" in 1867 to get a renewal of the treaty (Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald papers*, *Commercial relations with the United States*, 1890-91, 50: Pew to Macdonald, Oct. 28, 1889).

had been in Andrews's service for three years prior to the passage of the treaty, addressing himself as Andrews's attorney, presented an extensive memorial⁶¹ praying that the balance of the amount appropriated by the legislature, and remaining in the hands of the government, might not be paid over to the assignees of Andrews, but be paid to himself as the duly authorized attorney for Andrews. He indicated that Andrews had been recognized as the original claimant by an order-in-council of August 29, 1864, and that the assignments made in favour of the parties referred to had been cancelled, and that there was but one claimant against the government, namely Andrews. He declared that certain parties made claims that Andrews was indebted to them, and that the council acting under this misapprehension of the facts, was induced to pass an order directing that the money be distributed, with Andrews's sanction, amongst certain named parties.

Two of these parties, the Bank of Upper Canada and Thomas Rigney, have been paid under this order without opposition on the part of Andrews. Two other parties, namely, Hon. Lewis T. Drummond and Samuel Whitney, have not been paid, in consequence of Andrews' refusing to admit their claims. These persons do not pretend to set up any claim against the Provincial Government. They appear, simply, as the private creditors of Andrews, and as such alone do they demand payment or recognition.

Brega argued that the practice of the government had been not to recognize assignments, but to issue the warrant in the name of the claimant or his attorney.

To depart from this uniform practice I would respectfully suggest would not only be productive of great inconvenience to the Government but would be an assumption of the functions and duties of Courts of Law by deciding as to the contested private debts of individuals. . . . Neither Drummond or Whitney are entitled, in equity, (and they have no standing in law) to claim that the Government should depart from its uniform practice and recognize them, the mere claimants for alleged private debts against I. D. Andrews.

Brega concluded that the money should be paid to himself so as not to violate the order-in-council of March 14, 1863, and the address of the legislative assembly of August 15, 1864, "which declared that the appropriation should be used solely to pay debt in connection with the Reciprocity Treaty, while, as before remarked, neither Drummond or Whitney pretend theirs to be".

Brega had written John A. Macdonald, then attorney-general, asking his assistance in the case. Macdonald answered him, March 7, 1865, stating that "your case being now before the

⁶¹Public Archives of Canada, *Correspondence of the governor general's secretary*, no. 11723.

Finance Minister the Council must await his report. So soon as it comes before Council I shall see that the thing is read and fully considered."⁶² Galt, the minister of finance, reported on the memorial of Brega the next day, indicating that by the order-in-council of August 29, 1864, he was

precluded from sanctioning the issue of any warrant for the balance of the appropriation for the service excepting upon the mutual agreement of the three parties therein specified. The claim of Mr. Brega to represent Mr. Andrews in this matter to the exclusion of the other parties, rests upon legal points, with respect to which the undersigned is not prepared to offer any opinion.⁶³

Before arriving at a conclusion the council considered the opinion of the attorney-general, John A. Macdonald, on the legal points raised by Brega. His opinion was that

inasmuch as the Order in Council of August 29th recognized the assignment made by Andrews to Drummond and Whitney on April 1, 1859, by paying the Bank of Upper Canada the amount of their claim under such assignments, and by paying the balance of the Legislative appropriation which remained after retaining a sufficient amount to meet the other debts as secured by the said assignment, such recognition has given an equitable claim against the Crown to the other parties interested in such assignment.⁶⁴

Council therefore recommended that the previous order-in-council be adhered to and Brega was advised that his petition had received unfavourable action.⁶⁵

The money received by Andrews from the Canadian government was used to reimburse expenditures made before the passage of the treaty or to pay for services rendered in the same cause. The sum of \$15,000 had been spent in getting members returned in Nova Scotia who were favourable to the treaty. Another \$15,000 was paid to Moses H. Perley for valuable services. The Hon. L. T. Drummond at the time he was attorney-general "rendered valuable service and was therefore paid \$5,000".⁶⁶ A Canadian editor named Morrison and the deputy inspector-general, Anderson, "performed valuable service for which they were paid \$5,000".⁶⁷

An examination of some of Andrews's letters⁶⁸ and those of statesmen such as Pierce, Marcy, Webster, and others, in the

⁶²Enclosure in *ibid.*

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴Enclosure in *ibid.*

⁶⁵Public Archives of Canada, *State book AB*, 168-70.

⁶⁶*Special agents*, XVII, 302-4.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸A relative of Andrews informed the writer that his private papers had been either lost or destroyed.

United States relative to his services reveal the fact that he was an admirable agent and gave much valuable and reliable information to the government.⁶⁹ Webster thought him to be "very intelligent, active, and well informed".⁷⁰ Franklin Pierce wrote to Andrews a few months after the passage of the treaty through the senate:

I shall always entertain a high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by you in relation to the Fishery question, and other matters during the progress of the negotiations which preceded the Reciprocity Treaty, and, it was a matter of sincere regret that, I could not in the exercise of legal authority and a just discretion embrace in the order for payment, all the items in your account for expenses incurred and money actually paid.⁷¹

In a letter dated February 26, 1856, the Boston Board of Trade had advised the president of the United States that they were making an effort to collect funds to defray the expenses attendant upon the negotiation of the treaty, and that the city of Boston would contribute its quota towards relieving Andrews "temporarily from his present embarrassments, growing out of treaty demands, for which he was obliged to become personally responsible", and which were not liquidated by the government.⁷²

Mr. Andrews has been taken to jail on one suit, and held on bail on several others, for these debts; and it is only justice to say, that he has been kept in Boston on compulsion, and thus prevented from assuming his official position in Canada, or giving any attention to his private matters.⁷³

Andrews's efforts form an episode in "dollar diplomacy" of no small magnitude. He apparently asked for, and received aid, from both governments. What he actually did with such funds as were made available to further the cause of reciprocity will, perhaps, always remain a part of the story never to be completely revealed or understood. Andrews himself seems to have been perfectly sincere in his efforts, and not to have profited, to any substantial degree, from the money he was able to collect for his services in the promotion of a cause which to him had been the object of a lifelong ambition.

WM. D. OVERMAN

⁶⁹*Special agents*, XVI, 131: Clayton to George P. Fisher, Aug. 16, 1850.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 152: Webster to Fillmore, July 31, 1852.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 248: Dec. 4, 1854.

⁷²Keefer, *The Reciprocity Treaty*, 30-1. The Boston Board of Trade petitioned the British government in 1855 requesting them to make an appeal to the various towns in the provinces to do their part to free Andrews of debt. The board were of the opinion that since Cobden had received £70,000 for his part in the repeal of the corn laws that her majesty's government might exert their influence to reimburse Andrews in the sum of \$53,000 (*Series G*, vol. 150, enclosure in no. 20).

⁷³*Ibid.*

THE CASE OF BAYNE AND BRYMER AN INCIDENT IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF LABRADOR

DANIEL BAYNE and WILLIAM BRYMER were the first English-speaking landholders on the Atlantic coast of Labrador. In 1763, shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, by which that territory passed into British hands, they received a temporary grant of a fishing post near the Strait of Belle Isle. They were thus on the coast at the time when the question whether Labrador should be governed from Quebec or St. John's first arose. In view of the recent settlement of that dispute by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, their experiences are of unusual interest.

Throughout the period of French rule in Canada, Labrador had been under the control of the governors of Quebec. Many grants of land along the shore had been made to speculators who were anxious to engage in a fur-trade with the Indians. When James Murray took over the government in 1759, he continued the policy of encouraging settlement in Labrador, not only with a view to the promotion of the fur-trade, but also in order that the valuable winter seal-fisheries might be developed. In his opinion, permanent residents were a distinct asset to the coast.

Newfoundland had, on the other hand, been recognized as British territory for half a century. Geographically it had much in common with Labrador. The two districts were separated only by the narrow Strait of Belle Isle, which to fishermen was a means of communication rather than a barrier. In both countries white men lived only on the sea-shore and travelled only in boats. In both, fish and fur and oil were the only products. But in Newfoundland it was cod which had always been considered as the great staple. The island had long been subjected to the best theories of mercantilism. Inhabitants of any sort had been discouraged, almost excluded, in order that the coasts might be kept open for "adventurers" from England. These men procured all their equipment and supplies, with the exception of salt, in the mother country, crossed the ocean in British ships, caught their cod and dried it on the shores of Newfoundland, recrossed the ocean and sold a large proportion of their fish and oil to the peoples of the Mediterranean, and returned, with bullion, or the produce of southern Europe, to England. There, in the homeland once more, these seamen, trained in British fishing ships, could always be called upon to man the nation's fleets in times of need. Such a

state of affairs was in accordance with the dreams of the most ardent of mercantilists. In order that it might be maintained, permanent residents in Newfoundland were regarded as a nuisance to be avoided at all costs.

The problem was, should an attempt be made to extend the Newfoundland system northward across the Strait of Belle Isle, or should the historic connection of Labrador with French Canada be maintained? If the former alternative were adopted, the coasts would be thrown open to cod-fishermen from overseas, and private property would no longer be recognized. Such a step would have a disorganizing effect upon the seal-industry. For, at that time, the animals were caught in nets, as they swam between the coastal islands and the mainland of Labrador. A net which had been made to fit some particular gut or "pass" could not be used elsewhere. Consequently, if the seal-hunters were not to lose much time and money annually in procuring new equipment, a guarantee that they would be allowed to use the same posts year after year was essential. In any case the seal-fishery could not easily be carried on by "adventurers" from the British Isles. For it was in December, after the ships had departed for Europe, that the seals passed along the Labrador coast on the way to their winter feeding grounds in the waters of the great cod banks to the south.¹ An application of the Newfoundland regulations to Labrador would mean, therefore, that the seal-trade would be almost entirely neglected in favour of the cod-fishery.

In England, however, it was feared that "adventurers" from France, who had the right by treaty of drying fish on the northern shores of Newfoundland, would attempt to renew their old trade with the natives of Labrador.² The British government came to the conclusion that such an encroachment could best be prevented by the uniting of the two territories under the authority of one governor, who would be instructed to keep cruisers constantly plying in the Strait of Belle Isle. Just as this decision was reached, however, Mr. William Brymer was accepting a temporary grant of private property on the Labrador coast from Governor Murray. He was, therefore, with his partner Daniel Bayne, destined to be in the thick of the first clash between the Quebec

¹For a description of the seal-fishery, see Public Record Office, *C.O. 104*, vol. 18, pp. 267-79: "Case of the Landholders in Canada" (printed in *Joint appendix* of the Labrador case before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1927, III, 1023-9). Also, *C.O. 104*, vol. 18, pp. 321-9: Memorial of Geo. Cartwright, Jan. 6, 1773 (*Joint app.*, III, 1059-66).

²*C.O. 104*, vol. 26 (*Joint app.*, II, 387): "Representation" of the Board of Trade, Mar. 15, 1763.

policy of sedentary fisheries and the Newfoundland policy of temporary fisheries.

Messrs. Bayne and Brymer were two British merchants who had taken up residence in Quebec city soon after the conquest. Imagining the produce of the newly conquered province to be of a much greater extent than it really was, they had brought with them a large quantity of merchandise from Great Britain, confident that they would be able to dispose of it at a considerable profit.

Formerly the trade with the Savages in the upper Countrys from Montreal to Fort Illinois had been carried on with Success, and chiefly engrossed by the Canadians, But after the reduction, the Interruptions from the Indian war, and the participation of the other British Colonies in that trade greatly reduced its value to Canada, And hence the new Settlers finding difficulty to make their returns to Britain, and Seeing that the Seal fishery was abandoned in consequence of the war, which had disabled the Canadians from carrying it on, apply'd to the Governor of Quebec for leave to embark therein.³

For there was at that time an ever-increasing demand in Great Britain for animal oils. In view of this fact, and realizing that some of the French subjects who had previously taken part in the seal-fisheries, but who were then unemployed in Quebec, would thereby be given work again, Murray did not hesitate to accede to the request of the merchants.

On April 26, 1763, Brymer received a grant for four years of a tract of land near the Strait of Belle Isle, "known by the Name of Cape Charles".⁴ A Quebec Scotsman, William Lead, was appointed to take charge of affairs at the post. Dwelling huts and store rooms were erected, while oil boilers, cables, fishing nets, trammels, hogsheads, muskets, and other utensils were obtained by the merchants, in Quebec, and sent to Labrador. In the autumn a crew of French Canadians, the only people who had had any experience in the winter seal-fishery, were sent to Cape Charles, there to remain until the following spring. When the St. Lawrence was clear of ice once more, most of them would return to Quebec for the summer, having first carefully hidden their gear and other possessions in the woods, in order "to preserve them from the Pillage of both Indians & White People".⁵ Those

³*Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 272.

⁴*Joint app.*, VII, 3671.

⁵British Museum, *Additional manuscripts*, 35915, f. 58 (*Hardwicke papers*): "Copy of a part of a letter dated 26th Octob. 1765".

who remained at the post during the summer were able to occupy themselves in catching salmon near the river mouths. Thus, by the year 1765, the fisheries of Bayne and Brymer had become well organized, and the work at Cape Charles was being carried on with enthusiasm.

Meanwhile, Labrador had been placed under the "care and inspection" of Thomas Graves, the governor of Newfoundland. By a commission passed under the Great Seal on April 25, 1763, the day before Bayne and Brymer had secured their grant at Quebec, he was constituted and appointed "Governor and Commander in Chief in and over...all the Coasts of Labrador from the Entrance of Hudsons Streights to the River Saint Johns which discharges itself into the Sea nearly opposite the West End of the Island of Anticosti".⁶

The fact that this step had been taken was announced by the royal proclamation of October 7 in the same year. The change was made, it stated, in order that "the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the coast of Labrador". The history of Newfoundland showed all too clearly what mercantilists meant when they talked about "free" fisheries. The Quebec merchants at once feared the worst!

In February, 1764, William Brymer joined with seventeen other Quebec traders in sending a memorial to Governor Murray requesting that he would represent to the king the importance and necessity of their being allowed to continue in the enjoyment of their settlements if the benefits of the valuable seal-fishery were not to be lost.⁷ This memorial the governor forwarded to the Board of Trade in London, with a note in which he expressed his confidence that it would "procure the petitioners every Benefit, they can reasonably wish or desire". But in England the influence of the fishing merchants of the western ports, together with the theories of the mercantile system, had been too strong. A government which knew little about seal-fishing, or the state of affairs on the Labrador coast, had decided to extend the Newfoundland system northward across the Strait of Belle Isle. Before the memorial from Quebec could reach England, Captain Hugh Pallisser had been appointed governor of Labrador, as well as of Newfoundland, in place of Captain Graves. In May, he sailed with instruction to enforce the old laws which had been drawn up

⁶Public Record Office, Patent roll, 3 Geo. III, part V, M. 15 (*Joint app.*, I, 149).

⁷*C.O.* 42, vol. 1, pp. 219-21, "Memorial", Feb. 14, 1764 and p. 215, Murray to Board of Trade, Feb. 19, 1764.

in the seventeenth century for the maintenance of a "free" fishery—free, so long as one was British, and did not presume to live in the country, or buy goods not shipped from Britain, or commit any other sin against mercantilism. Pallisser was determined conscientiously to carry out his instructions for the establishment of a British ship fishery with all the strictness of the naval discipline in which he had been trained.

It was on August 11, 1765, that the first effects of the change of government were felt at Cape Charles. Lord Rutherford, the lieutenant of a warship which Pallisser had stationed on the Labrador coast to prevent illicit trading with the French, discovered about ninety French hogsheads on the St. Charles River (to the north of Cape Charles). These he presumed were the property of a party from one of the French ships employed off the northern shores of Newfoundland, who had secretly settled themselves on Labrador for the summer's fishery. Failing to find the owners, he ordered that the casks be burned.⁸ This incident Pallisser later referred to as "a trifling Accident, by which a few Old Barrell Staves belonging to Messrs. Brymer and Bayne were Burnt at Charles River, which was Occasion'd by the folly and Imprudence of their own People"⁹—folly, presumably, because they had brought French casks from Quebec, and imprudence because no one was on hand when the governor's officer found them. The owners, however, estimated the value of their destroyed property at £60.

More serious trouble was to follow in a few days. Pallisser had felt it to be his duty to see that the Labrador trade should be "a British not an American Fishery".¹⁰ But before this could be effected, something had to be done about the old grants from Quebec. The governor had hit upon an amazingly simple plan. On April 8, 1765, he had calmly declared that all property in Labrador was vested in the crown, and that "since the Conquest thereof no part of it has been lawfully given or granted away".¹¹ The obstacle of private property having been thus removed, the coast was to be free to the king's British subjects in preference to all others. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the Canadian merchants would have the impudence to dispute this

⁸*C.O. 104*, vol. 18, p. 70 (*Joint app.*, III, 1035): "Memorial" of Bayne and Brymer to Board of Trade, Dec., 1768. Also vol. 27 (*Joint app.*, III, 975 *ff.*): "Representation" of Board of Trade, May 13, 1766.

⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 16, T. 88 (*Joint app.*, III, 970): Pallisser to Pownall, April 3, 1766.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, T. 57 (*Joint app.*, III, 948): Pallisser to Board of Trade, Oct. 30, 1765.

¹¹*Ibid.*, T. 58 (*Joint app.*, III, 937): "Rules", etc., April 8, 1765.

statement. Now, in August, he appeared at Pitt's Harbour,¹² on his first visit to Labrador, in order that he might see the effects of his recent regulations.

When it was reported to the governor that nets, huts, and fishing utensils had been seen near the St. Charles River, he immediately sent Lieutenant Waters, of his own ship, the *Guernsey*, with a party of marines, to search for the owners—not in order that apologies could be made for the "trifling accident" described above, but that these inhabitants might be subjected to a cross-examination.¹³ Should the lieutenant be satisfied that they were Canadians and employed by English merchants, he was to bring only their chief before the governor. Otherwise he was to seize the whole party, together with everything he could find belonging to them. When, on August 17, he discovered Lead and a French Canadian, François Carpentier, with many French goods, especially arms, in their possession, he at once suspected them of being in French employ. Notwithstanding their protests, he arrested them both and carried them, with some of their nets, to Pallisser in Chateau Bay (near Pitt's Harbour).

When the governor discovered that French Canadians (British subjects though they now were) were still employed for carrying on the seal-fishery, and that their French weapons were used for the "destruction" of the natives, with whom he was very anxious to come to terms, he announced to his prisoners that the grants from Quebec could not be allowed, and let them go to collect their effects. When Lead pointed out that he had no vessel in which to transport his employers' goods to Quebec,

Governor Pallisser did most Graciously permit him to sell them to the British fishing Ships in Pitt's Harbour only, which . . . consisted of Two! a most merciful alternative this to admit the sale of materials for Seal fishing to two Ships only, who were employd in quite a different Branch, cou'd have no use for them, consequently cou'd not be supposed to purchase them unless at perhaps one hundredth part of their Value.¹⁴

On reaching Cape Charles again, the two men found that a band of four or five hundred savage Eskimo had come down from the north and were still in the neighbourhood. This discovery, no doubt, made the order to abandon the post much less dis-

¹²West of the northern part of Belle Isle, about seven leagues south-west of Cape Charles.

¹³Public Record Office, *K.B. 122*, roll 347, m. 672: Pallisser's plea in King's Bench, 1768.

¹⁴*Add. MSS.*, 35915, f. 87 (*Hardwicke papers*): Draft petition, undated (1766?).

agreeable. At all events, on August 28, Lead was back at Pitt's Harbour, asking Pallisser to give him the order to leave in writing, so that he could justify his conduct with his employers. The governor did so, commanding William Lead and François Carpentier "Immediately to quit the Coast of Labrador, and take away with them all their Effects, or they may sell them to any British Fishing Ship in this Harbour".¹⁵ On the same day he issued detailed regulations for the Labrador fishery, in which he took the extreme step of declaring that no "Person from any of the Colonies, shall on any pretence whatever go to the Coast of Labradore... and if any such are found there, they shall be Corporally Punished for the first Offence, and the 2d time their Boats shall be Seiz'd for the Publick use of British Ship Fishers upon that Coast".¹⁶ Having thus forbidden all competition, he proceeded to lay down the rules under which British "adventurers" were to enjoy the "free fishery" of which he had given them a monopoly. For the moment it appeared that the historic connection with Quebec had been broken, and that Labrador would become a mere outpost of the Newfoundland cod-fishery.

William Lead realized that his employers were preparing at considerable expense an outfit for the approaching winter's fishery. Although it was a journey of some three hundred leagues to Quebec, he determined to set out alone, in a small open boat, so that he might warn them as soon as possible. Carpentier, on the other hand, deterred by the menaces contained in the governor's new regulations "from continuing in the Service of any Persons residing in the Colonies", engaged himself to Captain Nicholas Darby, master of a fishing ship from Bristol, who was in Pitt's Harbour at the time (and whose daughter, incidentally, was later to become the famous "Perdita", mistress of George, Prince of Wales). On the 29th, Captain Darby wrote to one of the merchants at Quebec, stating that he had received permission from the governor to take their effects from Cape Charles to St. Julien (St. Jullians), just south of Hare Bay, in Newfoundland. Their salmon, however, was to be sold, as it "was lyable to be hurt by the frost in winter". According to reports which Bayne and Brymer received later, the salmon was duly disposed of at a public sale attended only by Captain Darby!¹⁷ Meanwhile Bayne and Brymer had fitted out a sloop, the *Esquimaux*, for the seal-trade on the

¹⁵C.O. 194, vol. 18, p. 66: "Order", Aug. 28, 1765.

¹⁶Ibid., vol. 16, T. 61 (*Joint app.*, III, 944): "Regulations", Aug. 28, 1765.

¹⁷*Add. MSS.*, 35915, f. 58 *cit.* and ff. 86-7 *cit.* (*Hardwicke papers*).

Labrador coast. She had actually reached Mingan, opposite the western part of Anticosti, before she was met by Lead on his homeward journey. When the crew heard of Pallisser's threats of corporal punishment, they could not be persuaded to resume their voyage. There was nothing to do but to return to Quebec, where the owners sold the vessel at a considerable loss. Seal fittings were no longer in demand among the colonists! But the two Quebec merchants decided to fight for their rights in England.

Pallisser, on his return to London, found Bayne and Brymer waiting for him and demanding satisfaction for their losses. When he attempted to effect a settlement between the merchants and Captain Darby for the goods which had been removed, his proposals were met with scorn.¹⁸ In March, 1766, together with fourteen other Quebec settlers, they sent a memorial to the Board of Trade reporting Pallisser's actions and pointing out the deplorable effects that were likely to result from his regulations.¹⁹ But the board highly approved of the goal at which the governor was aiming—the establishment of a British ship fishery. It was not, however, certain that his high-handed measures could legally be defended. While it suggested that the grant of exclusive possession may have been automatically terminated by the Proclamation of 1763, or that it was simply a temporary license "to carry on the Fishery" to which Pallisser was sufficiently authorized to put an end, yet it refused to give any definite opinion on the matter.²⁰

Messrs. Bayne and Brymer now sent a memorial directly to the king, setting forth their grievances and praying that they might be granted "relief and redress". On July 11 it was referred to the Privy Council's Committee for Plantation Affairs, but no decision was reported until September 6. On that date it was agreed "That if the Memorialists have any Right to what they Claim in their said Memorial (which does not appear to this Committee) Yet, that Your Majesty in Your Privy Council not having any Jurisdiction in this matter the said Memorial ought to be dismissed". Four days later this was done.²¹

An appeal to the courts of law was the only course now left open to the merchants. The Board of Trade and the Privy Council had both refused to pronounce judgment on the legality of Murray's grant. Bayne and Brymer determined to test it before the Court of King's Bench, and when Pallisser returned from

¹⁸C.O. 104, vol. 16, T. 93: Pallisser to Pownall, May 2, 1766.

¹⁹Ibid., T. 86 (*Joint app.*, III, 966-8): "Memorial", read March 27, 1766.

²⁰Ibid., vol. 27 (*Joint app.*, III, 978-9): "Representation" of Board of Trade, May 13, 1766.

²¹Public Record Office, P.C. 2, vol. 112, pp. 20 and 36: "Privy Council register", Sept. 6 and 10, 1766.

Newfoundland in December, 1766, he found that an action had been commenced against him for damages to the extent of £5,000.

The pleadings put forward in connection with this case may still be found at the Public Record Office in London. Carefully written on several long narrow pieces of parchment membrane, they are preserved among the massive "Judgment" or "Plea rolls" of the King's Bench.²² First are recorded the plaintiffs' "bill" and the defendant's "plea". The "reply", "rejoinder", and "sur-rejoinder" follow in turn. Several details here recorded of Pallisser's doings in Labrador are not to be found elsewhere. Moreover, the carefully itemized lists of articles destroyed or removed by the governor's orders throw considerable light on the sort of life lived by the Canadian settlers on the Labrador coast, and their methods of carrying on seal- and salmon-fisheries. In this instance, therefore, the records of an English judicial court form an unusual and valuable source of material relating to the history of British North America.

The governor was allowed more than a year in which to answer the bill of the plaintiffs. He was, however, becoming worried, for in February, 1767, he wrote to Shelburne, one of the principal secretaries of state, complaining that he could ill afford to support these "Vexatious and expensive Law Suits in Westminster Hall", and regretting that the case had not been inquired into by the Privy Council. Yet he added:

If in strictness of Law it should be determined that those People are intitled to any damages, I will hope His Majesty will determine whether Mr Murray or I ought to Pay it, since he tho' Ignorant of the Nature of the Fisheries, of the Laws relating to them, and without the least shadow of Authority made those extraordinary and unlawfull Grants, which was the occasion of, and made all my proceedings respecting the Coast of Labrador necessary.

He bemoaned the fact that he was

the first of His Majesty's Governors that has ever appear'd in Westminster Hall on such an occasion, therefore I must appear there in such a light, as it will not be to His Majesty's Honour to continue me in his employ, however, if a total change in the mode of carrying on the Fisheries is to take place, and thereby the whole put into the Hands of the Colonists... I had rather it should be done under the sanction of an English Judge and Jury, than by any Act, neglect or connivance in me.

²²K.B. 122, roll 347, m. 672: "Judgment roll", Easter, 8 Geo. III. The exact law term in which the pleadings in any case before the King's Bench at this period were entered in the "Judgment rolls" may be determined by reference to the contemporary indexes to the "entry books of judgments" in the King's Bench, which are now in the Public Record Office (in this case, Ind. 9771). When this has been ascertained, the number of the particular membranes on which are entered the pleadings in the case in question may be obtained from the "docket books", or "remembrances" kept by the Clk. of the Doggts. (Ind. 6229).

He spoke with all the pride and conviction of a true conservative.²³

In the spring of 1768, Pallisser entered a plea, in defence of his actions, at Westminster Hall, although he was still complaining to the government that he had "(unheard) been turned over to the Courts of Law, for only moving a few Settlers from thence, who had pretended to take possession of 140 Leagues of that Coast, without any Licence from the King, and by Authority only of a Colonel in the Army".²⁴ Cape Charles, he maintained, did not in August, 1765, belong to the plaintiffs, but to the king. As his majesty's governor he had acted in accordance with his commission and instructions. Bayne and Brymer had "wrongfully and injuriously entered and intruded themselves into the said post or place claiming the sole several and exclusive Right and Title thereto". They had unlawfully erected buildings and deposited goods there, without the king's permission, which were an encumbrance, doing damage to the fishery. He had, therefore, acted justly in having them removed.

Hugh Pallisser left Newfoundland as governor for the last time in the fall of 1768. On December 15, he appeared before the lord chief justice, Mansfield, and a special jury at the Guildhall in London. Again, however, no decision was reached. It "was proposed by the Court That the proceeding to the said Trial should be put off as a matter very improper to be canvassed in an Action at Law in that Court, and that instead thereof the parties should lay the whole Case before" the lords commissioners for trade and plantations.²⁵

The Board of Trade, however, still refused to deal with the matter. Having read the arguments submitted by both sides, it decided, on January 26, 1769, that the case related "to Questions of private Right and property, not determinable by this Board"; and that "application...ought to have been [made] to the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council".²⁶

The situation was now practically the same as it had been three years earlier. For the second time the case was laid before the Privy Council. In February a petition from Pallisser was read and in April a memorial from Bayne and Brymer. Both were referred to the Committee for Plantation Affairs. The Earl of Hillsborough, who had been president of the Board of Trade at the time of the Proclamation of 1763, and of the drafting of the

²³*C.O. 104*, vol. 27 (*Joint app.*, III, 1002-3): Pallisser to Shelburne, Feb. 9, 1767.

²⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 28, A 1 (*Joint app.*, III, 1019): Pallisser to Shelburne, Feb. 24, 1768.

²⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 63 (*Joint app.*, III, 1045): Pallisser's "petition" to Board of Trade, Jan., 1769.

²⁶*C.O. 391*, vol. 76, pp. 23-4: "Minutes" of the Board of Trade.

original instructions to Governor Pallisser, and who had become colonial secretary in 1768, had little love for American colonists of any sort. As the most influential member of the committee, he was determined that the ex-governor's actions should not be disapproved. But it could not be shown that the grant from Quebec was illegal, or that the rights of private property had not been violated. Consequently, if Pallisser was not to suffer, the government would have to pay the damages. Bayne and Brymer were summoned, with their solicitors, to the council office on May 4 for an interview with the lord president (Lord Gower). They and the governor were urged to settle the action between themselves. Finally, it was suggested to Pallisser that he should apply for an indemnity from the treasury. According to Hillsborough,

the Governor's intentions in the Measures complain'd of by Messrs. Bayne and Brymer, appeared in so favorable & honorable a light that it was the unanimous sense of the Committee to propose an accomodation & to recommend to the Treasury to pay whatever Damages should be agreed upon by the Parties & that Govr Palliser should be reimbursed all expences he has been at on this Account.²⁷

When the lords of the treasury received Pallisser's petition, they wrote to the Board of Trade for more information. Hillsborough sent an enthusiastic reply to the effect that "from the Spirit and ability with which that Gentleman executed the important Trust committed to him, and the attention he at all times shewed to the spirit of his Instructions, he justly deserves their Lordships favor and countenance". Four days later the Committee on Plantation Affairs, having again read both the memorial of the merchants and the petition of the former governor, was "Informed that this Affair was Compromised between the parties", and, so far as the Privy Council was concerned, the matter was dropped.²⁸

But it had not been decided where the money for the indemnity was to come from. Pallisser, a naval captain, had first become connected officially with Newfoundland through his appointment to the command of the ships on that station for the protection of the fishery. The lords of the treasury, therefore, decided that the bill should be met by the Navy Board, and accordingly forwarded Hillsborough's message to the lords commissioners of the admiralty with a request that they should order the same to be forthwith paid. A reply was not long in coming:

²⁷*C.O. 195*, vol. 15, p. 24 (*Joint app.*, III, 1046): Pownall to Cooper, Nov. 16, 1769.

²⁸*P.C. 2*, vol. 113, pp. 457-8 and 547, and *P.C. 2*, vol. 114, pp. 13 and 147: "Privy Council register", Feb. 20, April 14, May 3, and Nov. 20, 1769.

As the said demand is made for matters done by Mr. Palliser in the execution of his Office of Governor at Newfoundland, and not as Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships employed in those parts: the Lords of the Admiralty do not think themselves authorized to order it to be paid out of naval money.

The lords of the treasury finally settled the matter, however, on December 12, 1769, by directing "a Warrant to be prepared for paymt. of the sum claimed by Governor Palliser out of the contingencies of the Army".²⁹

In February, 1770, the case of Bayne and Brymer was brought to a conclusion. Palliser delivered £600 to the merchants as a recompense for the injuries they had suffered. By a royal warrant, he was repaid this sum, together with £389 15s. 3d.—the amount spent "in his Necessary defence of the said Action at Law".³⁰

Thus at last, four and a half years after their removal from the coast, Bayne and Brymer had received some compensation for their losses. The attempt to extend to Labrador the old fishing theories which had so long retarded the development of the colony in Newfoundland had cost the British public exactly £989 15s. 3d. in this single instance. The experiences of other fishermen and merchants vindicated the arguments that had been put forward by Bayne and Brymer. While the governor's actions had been officially approved, it was becoming clearer and clearer that permanent settlers were absolutely necessary if the seal-fishery, as carried on in those days, was to be a success. Eventually, in 1774, with the passing of the Quebec Act, Labrador once again became a part of the Canadian province—so to remain until thirty-five years later, when a new policy had been adopted for the government of Newfoundland. The temporary renewal of its connection with Quebec was made necessary by the old fishing theories which weakened its natural connection with Newfoundland. The traditional system of "free" fisheries could not be applied with success to the Labrador seal-industry. The attempt to do this, however, had caused considerable inconvenience to Messrs. Bayne and Brymer.³¹

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²⁹Public Record Office, *T 29*, vol. 40, pp. 116 and 133-4: "Treas. Min.", Nov. 23 and Dec. 12, 1769.

³⁰*T 52*, vol. 60, p. 317: "King's warrant", Feb. 9, 1770, to Paymr. forces.

³¹A number of Palliser's papers relating to the case of Bayne and Brymer are preserved in vols. II and III of the *Phillips collection*, now in the Public Archives of Canada.

A. T. GALT AND CANADIAN FISCAL AUTONOMY

THE position of Galt as the champion of Canadian fiscal autonomy has long been recognized. During a period marked by steady progress toward that end, he was always in the forefront of the movement, ever anxious to hasten the process and ever impatient of restraint from the Colonial Office. Particularly was this so during his tenure of office from 1858 to 1862 as minister of finance in the Cartier-Macdonald government. During that period Galt had two distinct controversies with the Colonial Office: the first over his increase in the Canadian tariff in 1859 and the second over his proposal in 1860 for a fiscal union of the North American colonies.

The Newcastle-Galt exchange over the tariff of 1859 is, of course, well known. Few utterances from Canadian history have been more frequently quoted than Galt's historic declaration:

Respect to the Imperial Government must always dictate the desire to satisfy them that the policy of this country is neither hastily nor unwisely formed; and that due respect is had to the interests of the Mother Country as well as of the Province. But the Government of Canada acting for its Legislature and people cannot, through those feelings of deference which they owe to the Imperial authorities, in any manner waive or diminish the right of the people of Canada to decide for themselves both as to the mode and extent to which taxation shall be imposed.¹

As a result of this momentous pronouncement the actual significance of the Galt-Newcastle exchange has been frequently misunderstood. An erroneous impression has been prevalent that on this occasion the issue over differential duties was fought and decided in favour of Canada. Actually, of course, this was not the case: the Colonial Office did not, at this time, admit the fiscal autonomy of the Canadian government. Not until two years later were differential duties virtually accepted in principle.²

Upon the announcement of Galt's tariff in 1859 Newcastle had forwarded to Head a protest from the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, accompanied by a mild protest of his own. He intimated, however, that the royal assent would probably be given

¹Public Archives of Canada, *Series E*, State book U; Minutes of the executive council, Nov. 12, 1859.

²Public Archives of Canada, *Series CO 188*, vol. 41: Newcastle to Gordon, Nov. 5, 1861.

upon the arrival in England of the act.³ To this Galt replied with his famous memorandum of October 25, quoted above, which was subsequently forwarded to Newcastle.

The opening paragraphs contain that incisive vindication of Canadian autonomy which has imparted an artificial lustre to the whole incident. One important fact has been frequently overlooked: much the greater part of Galt's memorandum was occupied in an attempt to prove that the additional duties were necessary for purposes of revenue. He did admit gratification that it had been found possible, in raising the necessary revenue, to afford a moderate "incidental protection" to Canadian manufactures, but disavowed all intention of a deliberate attempt to foster native industry by a protective tariff. Duties, he asserted, had been distributed in such a manner as to press as equally as possible upon all and to afford equal encouragement to every interest.

It was upon the plea of fiscal necessity, and not as acknowledgement of Canadian autonomy, that the tariff of 1859 was finally accepted by the Board of Trade. This is important, for in 1859 the supremacy of the board, as dictator of British commercial policy, had not been challenged. No official notice was taken of the aggressive remarks with which Galt had prefaced his memorandum.⁴ The tariff had been defended and accepted on virtually the same ground as every fiscal increase in Canada since 1846. Earl Grey in 1848, after objecting to the Canadian tariff, had professedly accepted it for the same reason, *i.e.* the necessity of revenue.⁵

The opening paragraphs of Galt's memorandum are, indeed, a brilliant exposition of the Canadian point of view and provide a striking indication of the whole tendency of the period. But they cannot be regarded as more than the anticipatory statement of the position which Canada expected in the near future to achieve. They were, in fact, the substance of things hoped for. The incident of 1859 did not in itself mark any epochal concession on the part of the home government. Although of considerable significance, it was but one event in a process toward autonomy which virtually commenced in 1846 and was not to be completed until many years after 1859. Although its effects were un-

³Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 160: Newcastle to Head, Aug. 13, 1859, enclosure.

⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 162: Newcastle to Head, Jan. 31, 1860, enclosures.

⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 130: Grey to Elgin, March 31, 1848.

doubtedly great, the incident itself marked no advance in status over the position previously achieved by the colony. Differential duties had already been allowed in practice by the establishment of intercolonial reciprocity in 1850⁶ and of reciprocity with the United States in 1854.⁷ They were not to be conceded in principle until 1861. The Canadian tariff was, indeed, raised to a greater height in 1859 than it had ever previously attained. This was achieved, however, by a repetition of the same plea which had been advanced at least ten years earlier. The incident of 1859 did not constitute a new departure but rather the continuance of a process already initiated. Indeed, in August, 1859, it had been demonstrated that Canadian autonomy was not established so unquestionably as Galt's statement might lead one to suppose. Newcastle had actually vetoed an act of the Canadian legislature providing for retaliatory measures against countries which did not freely admit Canadian vessels to registration and the coasting trade. Galt, who had introduced the measure, did not presume to challenge his action.⁸

Galt's second controversy with the Colonial Office was precipitated by a memorandum which he had submitted on November 23, 1859, to the Canadian executive. He asserted that it was desirable to extend the existing measure of intercolonial reciprocity to include all articles either produced or manufactured within the participating provinces, and further suggested the importance of ascertaining how far an assimilation of tariffs was practicable in order to permit complete intercolonial free trade. The executive endorsed the memorandum, including Galt's recommendation that it should be forwarded to the lieutenant-governors of the Maritime Provinces and of Newfoundland.⁹

To this memorandum the Board of Trade, supported by the Colonial Office, took vigorous exception. In this case, unlike the earlier exchange over the tariff, the principle of differential duties was directly involved. The stand taken by the Board

⁶Established in 1850 between Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. It was limited to a specified list of natural products.

⁷G, vol. 151: Labouchère to Head, July 15, 1856. After asserting that the Reciprocity Treaty was a matter of political expediency, Labouchère pointed out that its practical effect had been to establish differential duties against Great Britain, other portions of the empire, and foreign countries other than the United States. He noted that some of these remained in force, even though subsequent legislation in the British North American colonies had gone far to remove practical inconvenience arising out of the treaty.

⁸E, Despatches referred to the executive council, Newcastle to Head, Aug. 27, 1859; *Journals of the legislative assembly of Canada*, 1859, XVII, 240, 527.

⁹E, State book U: Minute of the executive council, Nov. 23, 1859.

of Trade in 1860 against Galt's second proposal shows how little it regarded the whole position as having been conceded in the tariff controversy of 1859. The British government, Newcastle informed Manners Sutton, still adhered in 1860 to the position which it had assumed after the attempt of W. H. Merritt in 1855 to effect reciprocal arrangements with certain West Indian colonies. Upon that occasion every colonial governor had been instructed to withhold his assent to acts imposing differential duties upon articles of British, foreign, or colonial production.¹⁰ In September of 1859 Newcastle had intimated that her majesty's government would not have disallowed an act of the New Brunswick legislature providing for the free admission of goods which were the growth, produce, and manufacture of the North American colonies only. Yet in 1860 he supported the Board of Trade in its opposition to Galt's proposal for an arrangement of this nature.¹¹ Like Newcastle in his despatch to Sutton, the Board of Trade in this subsequent exchange with Galt, described its policy as a repetition of the position assumed by the British government in the controversy of 1855.¹²

Galt's proposal, unlike his action in 1859, would, of course, have involved a considerable extension of the system of differential duties. It was not surprising that the Board of Trade should only have been willing to accept the project with reservations which would utterly have altered its character. Newcastle, having referred Galt's memorandum to the board, now without comment of his own, forwarded its report of March 14, 1860, on the subject to Head. The board was obdurate in its attitude: her majesty's government must not consent to intercolonial free trade in the produce and manufactures of the provinces unless the resultant exemptions from duty were extended to all similar produce and manufactures of all countries. Subject to this reservation the board had no objection on abstract grounds to the assimilation of tariffs by the common consent of all the legislatures concerned. But strong objections were expressed to the common adoption of the Canadian duties or even a nearer approximation to them by the other provinces, unless their financial

¹⁰*CO 188*, vol. 35: Russell to Sutton, circular, July 12, 1855.

¹¹*Ibid.*, vol. 39, Newcastle to Sutton, Sept. 17, 1859, enclosures; *ibid.*, vol. 40, Newcastle to Sutton, Feb. 4, 1860.

¹²Public Archives of Canada, *Canada public, Nova Scotia*, secretary of state to governors, vol. 104, part 1, Newcastle to Mulgrave, April 8, 1860, enclosure; Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald papers*, Sir Alexander Galt, 1859-79, Newcastle to Head, April 12, 1860, enclosure.

condition afforded a similar justification to that which the board had admitted in the case of Canada.

Galt's reply of August 20, 1860, demonstrates that this second dispute was a result of the same underlying cause as the first. The board based its position on the theory that a country committed to free trade should levy duties only on those goods of which its entire supply is imported. By this means, it was proudly pointed out, Great Britain raised most of her revenue. But an excise or internal duty must accompany the imposition of an import duty upon goods which were produced both at home and abroad. To this postulate Galt took strong exception. The board, he asserted, was advocating not free trade (which required a removal of all artificial restrictions upon trade) but rather a modification of the system to suit the economic position of Great Britain. Other portions of the empire, he suggested, were quite justified in modifying the system of free trade in a different manner to accord with their own local conditions. Taxation must be distributed "in the most equitable manner over the people". The British government had followed this principle in the imposition of its own duties; but to force its system upon a country with different economic conditions was to impose an inequitable system of taxation. This, Galt asserted, was to violate rather than to observe the principles of free trade. He therefore appealed to the home government for breadth of vision in allowing the colonies to adopt the system of taxation most conducive to their welfare and future prosperity.

Galt further pointed out that the whole British case rested on the assumption that the North American colonies were destined to remain disunited. Looking forward as he did to Confederation, Galt suggested the advisability of allowing the provinces to benefit by immediate commercial union in anticipation of a more intimate political connection. Galt's closing sentences echoed his earlier challenge to the authority of the British government. In laying down rules to govern the relations between self-governing colonies, were the imperial authorities, he asked, proposing to exert a degree of control which would not be urged against the independent action of any one colony.¹³

The significance, then, of the Newcastle-Galt exchange of 1859 has frequently been misunderstood. On the other hand, Galt's second exchange in 1860, which throws considerable light

¹³E, State book V: Minute of the executive council, Jan. 2, 1861.

on the first controversy, has hitherto received but scant attention. Undoubtedly, however, both controversies had a considerable influence in precipitating Newcastle's really important concession in 1861. Already after the exchange over the tariff in 1859, Galt found in Newcastle a secret ally and wrote, of an interview with him in December, to Macdonald: "I told him I feared there existed some misapprehension as to our commercial policy which I should be glad to remove—He at once owned up—and said he had been in the wrong with a good deal more to the same effect."¹⁴ Probably Newcastle had been even more favourably disposed toward colonial autonomy by his tour of British America in 1860, and representations from the colonies in 1861 completed his conversion. Galt's memorandum of August 20, 1860, on the subject of intercolonial reciprocity, was forwarded on January 2, 1861, to Newcastle who regarded it with considerable favour.¹⁵ On September 27, 1861, Governor Manners Sutton reported a project, emanating from the government of New Brunswick, for free intercolonial trade among the Maritime Provinces.¹⁶ The combined influence of these two successive proposals, Galt's and that of New Brunswick, coming as they did at the end of a long agitation, impelled Newcastle into decisive action. On November 5, 1861, without any reservation on the score of differential duties, he informed Gordon, Sutton's successor, that no opposition would be offered "to any well-advised measure which the several Governments may think proper to adopt for promoting a free commercial intercourse between the different Provinces".¹⁷ Newcastle gave his sanction not only to Maritime commercial union but to a broader project which should include Canada also. On the same date, November 5, Monck was informed that her majesty's government felt "no wish to offer an obstacle to any endeavour which may be made by the respective Provincial Governments to bring about a free commercial intercourse between the North American Provinces".¹⁸

Newcastle's concession, marking as it did the conclusion of a

¹⁴Macdonald papers, Sir Alexander Galt, 1859-79: Galt to Macdonald, Dec. 14, 1859.

¹⁵Public Record Office, *Series CO 42*, vol. 626: Sir W. F. Williams to Newcastle, Jan. 2, 1861, enclosure, memorandum appended by Newcastle, March 13, 1861.

¹⁶CO 188, vol. 41, Newcastle to Gordon, Nov. 5, 1861; Public Record Office, *Series CO 221*, vol. 72, Returns and Statistics of Nova Scotia, Tilley to Howe, private, copy, Sept. 18, 1861, enclosure. Also Chester Martin, "British policy in Canadian Confederation" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIII, March, 1932, 6).

¹⁷CO 188, vol. 41: Newcastle to Gordon, Nov. 5, 1861.

¹⁸G., vol. 166: Newcastle to Monck, Nov. 5, 1861.

long struggle, was an epochal landmark on the path to dominion autonomy. The Board of Trade, uncompromising opponent of differential duties, had been confronted with a *fait accompli* and its supremacy in the sphere of commercial policy successfully challenged. The way was prepared for the wide measure of fiscal autonomy which the home government six years later conceded to the Dominion of Canada.

DONALD C. MASTERS

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE RIOTS OF 1849 IN MONTREAL

THE following account of the riots precipitated by Lord Elgin's assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill was written by Catherine Blake, the wife of William Hume Blake who was solicitor-general (West) in the Baldwin-LaFontaine administration. The short journal, which is among the *Blake papers* now deposited in the library of the University of Toronto, and which has not hitherto been printed, records from day to day the scenes and rumours of disorder that descended upon Montreal during the last week of April, 1849. Through the windows of her nearby lodgings, which she had just finished dismantling preparatory to returning home, Catherine Blake saw the glare of the blazing Parliament Building. For the next four days she lived in the midst of tumult; and her hurried notes, recorded to the accompaniment of an almost continual rumble of riot and disturbance, convey a sharp impression of the suspense that gripped the capital of the two Canadas, with its mixed population of fifty thousand, its meagre police force of seventy, and its uncertain garrison, until the turn of the week brought reinforcements of regiments under Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

The debate on the Rebellion Losses Bill was marked, both within and without the House, by well-calculated efforts to arouse bitter animosities and by deliberate threats of violence. The granting of the royal assent, solemnly asserted the *Montreal gazette*, would cause a movement "such as this province has never witnessed since the first European placed his foot upon its soil". In this atmosphere of excitement, on the afternoon of Wednesday, April 25, the governor-general proceeded to the legislature to dispose of the bills ready for his signature. When Lord Elgin entered the council chamber at five o'clock, the galleries had already been filled for two hours with an expectant crowd. As, one by one, the titles of the bills were answered by the formal words of assent, the strain became intense. At last came the title: "An Act to provide for the indemnification of parties in Lower Canada whose property was destroyed during the rebellion in the years 1837 and 1838". The same even formula responded. Immediately there arose an intentionally noisy stampede from the galleries; and by the time Lord Elgin, with his staff, emerged from the building half an hour later, a hostile crowd of the same

well-to-do people who had filled the galleries was gathered about the entrance. His appearance was the signal for a clamour of abuse, accompanied, as he approached his carriage, by volleys of refuse. One egg struck him full in the face; and before the open landau could move off, its panels and upholstery had been spattered with filth. A spectator, who saw it pass swiftly by on the road to Monklands a few minutes later, described it as "a dirty sight".

About nine o'clock that night the House, reassembled in committee, was startled by a crash of broken glass. Stones began to fall on both sides of the Hall of Assembly; and as the members retreated to the lobbies, the head of the mob filled the doors of the chamber. A carnival of pillage and destruction followed. One rioter seized the mace and made off with it. Others shattered the globes of the chandeliers and tossed about broken furniture and burning papers. At two points fire was kindled, and in a few minutes the flames were roaring before the wind of a sharp spring night. Out of the whole splendid building with its two valuable libraries, only the portrait of the queen and the retrieved mace were saved.

For the rest of the week Montreal was given over to commotion, and on the following Monday, as the journal describes in an addendum, Lord Elgin was again attacked when on his way to receive an address from the assembly, housed temporarily in the Bonsecours Market. With this uncompleted reference to what was, in effect, the culminating outburst, the journal concludes. In the nature of aftermath was the attack on Têtu's Hotel ten days later when William Hume Blake, in helping to hold the stairway leading up to the dining-room where a liberal deputation was attending a ministerial banquet, wounded two of the assailants with his pistol. Similarly, the second attack on LaFontaine's house three months later, in the course of which one of the rioters met his death at the hands of the defenders, was a relapse, serious enough in its way, but free from the critical character of the original outbreak. The fierce agitation that had taken the governor-general for its principal target had, in fact, exhausted itself in the excesses of that tumultuous week at the end of April.

ACCOUNT OF BURNING PAR^T HOUSE

Wednesday April 26th Had all my things packed up to leave with Mr. Morrison¹ next morning. H[ume] came home about 8 and asked me for

¹Her husband's partner, also a member of the assembly.

tea in a hurry as he should return immediately to the House. I was resting myself on the bed after all my fatigues of packing, jumped up and gave him tea. He told me the R. L. Bill had been given the royal assent but the Gov Gen^l was pelted with eggs & hissed. I had no time for further inquiry as he left immediately—a few minutes after, the fire-bells began to ring & we saw a light in the direction of the P^t House—M[orrison] was packing in his own room, but he ran into the drawing-[room] & seeing the direction of the fire cried out "God grant they may not have set fire to the P. House!"—He ran instantly to discover where the fire was.—The fire became every moment brighter & we heard them calling out the House was fired!—After some time H. returned with some of the members in great excitement.—The mob was furious,—turned away the firemen,—cut the hose—so there was no chance of saving any part of the house—While the members were quietly sitting, suspecting nothing, the windows were assailed with showers of stones in such quick succession that no one c^d remain there a moment in safety,—they escaped by the door at the back of the Speaker's chair—The mob rushed in tore up everything, smashed desks, benches, everything to atoms & then took the Mace & carried it off—The members were in the lobby on the opposite side, discussing how they had best escape, as it appeared impossible to pass through such an infuriated mob—At length the cry was raised "they have fired the House", & the gas pipes having been cut the room was in a moment in a sheet of flame—They had no choice but to try & effect an escape, & Hume said "let us keep together & make our way thro' in a body"—They proceeded & when they had gained the door found it open & unguarded, & they were able to pass unmolested as the crowd were at the opposite side where the fire was raging—What was then to be done?—H. was very vehement to go and address them, but was warned he w^d be torn in pieces. Nothing could be effected & the House was soon a mass of smoking ruins—The G^t [government] were blamed for not having used precautions beforehand to prevent this but who c^d have contemplated such an atrocity—The Council assembled & sat nearly all night—Between 4 & 5 in the morning H. returned. We got to bed & tho' there had been great excitement in the streets, all being now pretty quiet we slept soundly and safely thank God till 8 next morning.

All Thursday spent in Council—4 or 5 persons taken up who had been making speeches to a vast assemblage of persons in the Champ de Mars previous to the burning of the House,—much time spent in taking the depositions against them—They were put in gaol & this caused much excitement, threatened a rescue, & to burn the gaol—Council sat all day & until 2 at night, guarded by military with a furious mob all

round the gov^t offices—Mr. B[rown] of the Globe offered towards evening to try & see H., & bring me some news of him, attempted to pierce the crowd but could not—Mrs Hincks arrived in great excitement about her husband,—almost impossible to persuade her that H[ume] was not in the house, & had heard her husband was killed—I brought her through all our rooms to satisfy her, dressed Anna [the younger daughter] & sent her to the Adamson's²—Mrs. H. spent the night here,—had passed all day in the packing up her furniture & got it just conveyed away, & escaped in time—left her nephews on the watch, who came in about an hour after saying the mob had broken all the doors & windows & anything she had left but that was little—The town in great excitement—mobs passing yelling, groaning & halted once or twice opposite our windows, but no assault—Mrs. Ermatinger³ then called, had heard her husband was shot for reading the riot act but this was not the case—We all began to be miserable about the ministry, sitting in Council, surrounded by a furious mob—Gentlemen every moment dropping in with reports; many said the military sympathized with the mob & w^d not act; this alarmed us excessively. However, the crowd by degrees dispersed from the Gov^t offices in search of mischief—broke into Mr. Hinck's—Wilson & Holmes⁴ houses, smashed doors, windows &c—ladies just time to escape—Mr. Ross⁵ had to escort the Holmes the back way just as the mob entered the front—they did not burn the houses as Tories were on both sides of them—Went off to Lafontaines—tried 3 times to set fire but failed, smashed doors, windows, furniture, plate etc. his large—& valuable library to atoms, threw the books out of the windows & hacked them up—Went to the House where B. P. and Mr. Cameron⁶ lodged—riddled it completely—then paraded the town but at last having been all day & half the night out & having done a pretty good handfull of mischief, went home—Just as I succeeded in induc'g Mrs Holmes to go to her room H. arrived, between 2 and 3, dead tired—He had left them still in council as he wished to take a view of the town—He was armed with a thick walnut ruler, & with this weapon paraded the town alone—Saw Hincks, Wilson, Holmes, and Lafontaine—Went into La Fontaine's & such a description of devastation, especially the pantry, china, glass, plate, all knocked to atoms.

Mrs. H[inck's]—so miserable about her husband, H[ume] offered to

²Probably the Rev. William Agar Adamson, librarian of the legislative council, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin.

³The wife of the chief of police.

⁴Probably John Wilson of London, a moderate Conservative, who had condemned the burning of the Parliament Building, and Benjamin Holmes, one of the members for Montreal, noted for his advocacy of annexation.

⁵John Ross, a son-in-law of Baldwin.

⁶Malcolm Cameron, the assistant commissioner of works.

go back & see if he were still at Council—He went much against my wishes as he was dead tired, was exposing his life, & all to ask an unnecessary question; however he returned thank God, in safety, saying no one was there; they had all gone to sleep in some friend's house—

As usual we slept quietly until morning overpowered with fatigue & excitement—

Next day Friday—passed much as usual, mobs going about, H. all day either in council or at the House—Towards evening Col Ermatinger (Head of Police) came home & sent off Mrs. E and the children in great haste, as news came this house was to be attacked—I felt the greatest repugnance to leaving it, & told my friends to leave me until they saw any danger, & then I could go to the Adamsons—Great rumors of attacking "Tetu's" [hotel] & mobs collecting at the corners, I decided to go & with a heavy heart, Mr. M[orrison] left me at the Adamsons—The night however turned out quieter as Messrs Moffatt & Guguy⁷ addressed the mobs, & succeeded in getting them home—The govt had sworn in a great number of special constables & armed them, they were attacked & fired on two young men who attacked them, wounded them but not badly—The mob were told to go home as they had no arms & could do nothing but next night they should be prepared for the police & led on—or something to that effect, which sent them home after some noise—

Saturday—It was concluded to leave the city to the protection of the military as Sir B. D'Urban had arrived with troops & they could be depended on, also to release the prisoners on bail—These were two triumph[h]s to the mob. H was highly indignant at this vacillation—was at Monklands with Sullivan, & had an interview with the Gov^r—Govr highly indignant at insult he received—H. worked & argued & abused, but Lafontaine disarmed [?] the police & released the prisoners, H. telling him he had disgraced himself forever & rendered the gov^t contemptible.—House sat & passed an address to his Ex. on the subject of the fire & the insult—30 to 16—majority—many liberal members absent—H. furious at their deserting the Gov^r after his sticking to them, & thus bringing him into such a mess—Towards evening mobs collected again at the Hay market & nearly opposite this. They were harangued by Perry one of the released prisoners who advised them to go home and keep quiet as they could do nothing. At length they dispersed & we had thank God a peaceful night.

The night before I was at the Adamsons, got up at daybreak & came home to H—poor fellow fast asleep—I regretted much having

⁷Two Conservative politicians, the latter better known as Colonel Gagy, the seigneur of Rivière du Loup.

gone away as all was quiet—He said I should either go to Upper Canada—or stay at the Adamson's; decided to stay.—Packed up all our things & brought them to the Adamsons—All day people coming in saying "the ministry had resigned"—"Lord Elgin gone mad"—felt miserable & returned here again & finding myself happier here determined to stay, but H. seems to wish I should return home tomorrow—Misery to leave him, but he seems so galled and fretted at all that has passed, I must do exactly what he wishes.

Sunday April 29th—'49.

All Sunday spent in Council;—perfect quietness—Anna slept at home for the first time since the burning—

Monday—about 1 O'C—saw Govr pass with a cavalry guard—Carriage moved rather slowly—He looked firm as a rock, Col Bruce⁸ cheerful beside him—All quiet in this street lined with spectators—, but the servants have just run up to say, he was pelted with eggs at the Place d'Armes, & his carriage windows broken with stones, & that there is a vast assemblage of people yelling at the Bonsecours Market—They say he has gone home another way—

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, ECONOMICS, AND LAW

We present herewith our eighth annual list of graduate theses which have reference to Canadian history, economics, and imperial relations, and which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. To this list we have, by special request, added this year theses dealing with Canadian law. It is interesting to note that of the 111 Ph.D. theses listed, 78 are being prepared in universities in the United States, 20 in Canada, 12 in other British universities, and 1 in France. Of the 133 M.A. students, 108 are working in Canada, 15 in the United States, and 10 in other British universities.

In the compilation of this list we have received the co-operation of over a hundred universities throughout the world, and we wish to express our appreciation of their generous interest and support. Although the information which we present is not, of course, final or complete, we believe that it serves a useful purpose in indicating the scope and type of graduate research that is being done in the field of Canadian history and allied subjects. We should be grateful to have any mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

⁸Lord Elgin's brother.

THESES FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- M. GOULET ALEXANDRE. Une Nouvelle France en Nouvelle Angleterre. *Paris*.
- CHARLES ARTHUR ANNIS, B.A. Toronto 1930; A.M. Cornell 1933. Canadian tariff policy and its effect on trade with the United States. *Cornell*.
- F. E. ARCHIBALD. The contribution of the Scottish church to New Brunswick Presbyterianism. *Edinburgh*.
- ELIZABETH ARMSTRONG, A.B. Barnard 1920; A.M. Columbia 1923. French-Canadian nationalism. *Columbia*.
- EDWIN G. ARNOLD, A.B. Yale 1926; M.A. 1932. The effect of the Ottawa agreements on Canadian trade relations. *Yale*.
- LLOYD B. AVERETT, A.B. Kentucky 1923; A.M. 1925. Local taxation of insurance business in the United States and Canada. *Kentucky*.
- ALFRED GOLDSWORTHY BAILEY, B.A. New Brunswick 1927; M.A. Toronto 1929. Cultural relations of Indians and Europeans in the north-east of America. *Toronto*.
- C. L. BAILEY, M.A. New Zealand. The beginnings of organized educational administration in the empire. *London*.
- JOHN A. BALL, jr., A.B. Johns Hopkins 1926; M.B.A. Harvard 1929. The Combines Investigation Act in Canada. *Johns Hopkins*.
- N. H. BAXTER, A.B. Butler 1922; A.M. Chicago 1927. Laurier's influence in British imperial relations. *Iowa*.
- WILSON T. M. BEALE, A.B. Princeton 1931; M.B.A. Pennsylvania 1933. British tariff policies and British commercial policies of recent years. *Pennsylvania*.
- H. P. BEERS, S.B. Lafayette 1930; A.M. Pennsylvania 1931. The western military frontier, 1815-1846. *Pennsylvania*.
- G. M. BENEDICT, A.B. Harvard 1927; A.M. 1929; Ph.D. 1933. Imperialism in England in the last decade of the nineteenth century. *Harvard*.
- LALLA R. BOONE, A.B. Texas 1917; A.M. California 1922. Captain George Vancouver on the North-west coast. *California*.
- C. F. BURNS, A.B. Tulsa 1928; A.M. Washington 1932. Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, fur-trading magnates. *Iowa*.
- J. J. BURNS, A.B. Catholic 1932; A.M. 1933. The colonial agents of New England. *Catholic*.
- F. W. BURTON, B.A. Toronto 1930; A.M. Harvard 1933. The grain trade of Canada, 1783 onward, especially the technology and geography of production. *Toronto*.
- Mrs. HELEN B. BURTON, A.B. Wisconsin 1927; A.M. 1928. Joseph Chamberlain as colonial secretary. *Wisconsin*.
- HAZEL D. BURWASH, B.A. Oxford 1931; A.M. Mount Holyoke 1933. La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, 1627-1663. *Bryn Mawr*.
- WILLIAM AMBROSE CARTER, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Missouri 1928. The Canadian treatment of the trust problem. *Princeton*.
- H. U. CLARK, A.B. Harvard 1923; A.M. 1928. The purchase of Alaska. *Harvard*.
- SARAH COMMON, B.A., M.A. Queen's; Ph.D. London School of Economics 1933. The economics of the settlement of the Prairie Provinces of Canada, 1900-1931. *London School of Economics*.
- HAROLD EVERETT CONRAD, A.B. Brown 1927; A.M. Clark 1929. The Loyalist experiment in New Brunswick. *Toronto*.
- J. I. COOPER, B.A. Western Ontario 1930; M.A. 1933. Quebec Conservatism, provincial and federal. *McGill*.
- ALBERT B. COREY, B.A. Acadia 1922; M.A. 1923; A.M. Harvard 1923; Ph.D. Clark 1934. Relations of Canada with the United States from 1830 to 1842. *Clark*.
- C. W. CROWELL, A.B. River Falls Teachers College 1930; A.M. Iowa 1933. Edward Randolph, a royal official in the colonial service (1675-1703). *Iowa*.
- JOHN THOMAS CULLITON, B.A. Saskatchewan 1926; M.A. McGill 1927. Land settlement in western Canada. *McGill*.
- F. O. DARVALL, B.A. London 1926. Public opinion and war, with special reference to the War of 1812. *Columbia*.
- DONALD DAVIDSON, B.A. British Columbia 1933. The British fur traders on the Pacific slope, 1793-1846. *California*.
- JOHN DELANGLEZ, S.J., A.B. Loyola (New Orleans) 1926; A.M. 1927. The Society of Jesus in French Louisiana to 1763. *Catholic*.
- R. O. DEMOND, A.B., A.M. Syracuse. The Loyalists of North Carolina. *Duke*.

- J. S. DOUGLAS, A.B. Oregon 1931; A.M. 1932. Military posts in the Oregon territory, 1846-1898. *Minnesota*.
- ALBERT KENNETH EATON, Ph.D. Harvard 1933. Canada and the gold standard, 1926-31. *Harvard*.
- JEROME CLARENCE FITZGERALD, B.A. Toronto 1917. Canadian administrative law. *Toronto* (Law).
- A. R. FOLEY, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Wisconsin 1924. The French-Canadian invasion of New England. *Harvard*.
- NORMAN L. GOLD, B.A. British Columbia 1929; Ph.D. California 1933. American immigration to the Prairie Provinces of Canada, 1890-1932. *California*.
- H. GOLDEN, B.A. Manitoba 1923; M.A. 1924; A.M. Harvard 1926. The rise of popular culture in old Canada to 1850. *Harvard*.
- E. G. GREEST, B.S. Saskatchewan 1926; M.S. 1932. Farm business study of the Olds district, Alberta. *Minnesota*.
- PAUL-HENRI GUIMONT, B.A. Séminaire de Québec 1927; Science de Sciences Commerciales, Montréal 1930. Canadian tariffs. *Harvard*.
- L. A. HARPER, A.B. California 1922; A.M. 1924. The enforcement of the Navigation Acts in England and America, 1660-1696. *Columbia*.
- VIRGINIA D. HARRINGTON, A.B. Barnard 1924; A.M. Columbia 1925. The New York merchant in the eighteenth century. *Columbia*.
- CATHERINE W. HAUGH, A.B. Agnes Scott 1922; A.M. Chicago 1927. Social and economic factors in British imperialism in the 1880's. *Chicago*.
- HERSCHEL HEATH, A.B. Fairmount College 1926; A.M. Clark 1927; Ph.D. 1933. The Indian as a diplomatic factor in the War of 1812. *Clark*.
- JOHN W. HOLMES, B.A. Western Ontario 1932; M.A. Toronto 1933. Border relations between Canada and the United States during the American Civil War. *Toronto*.
- R. A. HUMPHREYS. Lord Shelburne and British imperialism, 1763-83. *Cambridge*.
- G. T. HUNT, A.B. Peru State Teachers College (Nebraska) 1927; A.M. Nebraska 1932. Intertribal relations among the Great Lakes Indians. *Wisconsin*.
- AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, A.B. Reed 1925; A.M. California 1929. Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1800. *Pennsylvania*.
- HAROLD H. HUTCHESON, A.B. University of Richmond 1933. The Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference, 1932: A study in the development of imperial preference. *Johns Hopkins*.
- MARK K. INMAN, B.A. Acadia 1925; A.M. Harvard 1928. Experience in Canadian banking, 1929-1934. *Harvard*.
- R. I. JAMES. Public opinion in Great Britain and the United States on Anglo-American relations, 1783-89. *Oxford*.
- H. JAMESON, A.B. Michigan 1921; A.M. 1925. Organization of militia in the American Revolution. *Michigan*.
- R. JAPP, M.A. St. Andrews 1927; M.A. McGill 1929. Early Protestant education in Quebec Province. *McGill*.
- H. P. JENKINS, B.A. Acadia 1927. An economic appraisal of colonial expansion. *Chicago*.
- J. A. JONASSON, A.B. Linfield 1926; A.M. Washington 1929; Ph.D. Stanford 1933. The Riel Rebellions. *Stanford*.
- JOSEPH M. JONES, A.B. Baylor 1928; A.M. Pennsylvania 1929. Foreign retaliation against American tariffs. *Pennsylvania*.
- H. KIMBER, A.B. Michigan 1925; A.M. 1928; Ph.D. 1932. Re-appraisal of the imperialism of Benjamin Disraeli. *Michigan*.
- O. A. KINCHEN, A.B. Oklahoma 1916; A.M. 1920. Lord John Russell and Canadian self-government. *Iowa*.
- A. K. KING, A.B. North Carolina 1925; A.M. Chicago 1927. Loyalism in North Carolina. *Chicago*.
- NEIL ROY KNIGHT, A.B. Whitman College 1915; A.M. Washington 1931. A history of banking in Washington (dealing with the developments in the entire North-west including especially the financial programme of the Hudson's Bay Company). *Washington*.
- F. A. KNOX, B.A. Queen's 1923. The international trade balance of Canada since 1914. *Chicago*.
- LIONEL H. LAING, B.A. British Columbia 1929; M.A. Clark 1930. Merchant shipping legislation and admiralty jurisdiction in Canada. *Harvard*.

- S. LAWRENCE, B.A. McMaster 1923; M.A. 1929. Religious equality in British North America. *Toronto*.
- ANDREW DONALD LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Macdonald and the policy of the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- DOROTHY LONG, B.A. Toronto 1923; M.A. 1928. Edward Ellice. *Toronto*.
- RONALD S. LONGLEY, S.B. Acadia 1921; A.M. Harvard 1924. Francis Hincks, his political career in Canada. *Harvard*.
- C. L. LUNDIN, A.B. Harvard 1929; A.M. 1931. New Jersey in the American Revolution. *Princeton*.
- E. W. LYON, A.B. Mississippi 1925; B.A. Oxford 1927; Litt.B. 1928; Ph.D. Chicago 1932. Louisiana in Franco-Spanish diplomacy, 1763-1804. *Chicago*.
- J. O. McCABE. Great Britain and the evolution of the international boundary line of Canada, west of the Rockies. *Glasgow*.
- RONALD A. MCEACHERN, B.A. Toronto 1931; M.A. 1933. Goldwin Smith. *Toronto*.
- R. O. MACFARLANE, B.A. Queen's 1924; M.A. 1925; Ph.D. Harvard 1933. British Indian policy in the northern department. *Harvard*.
- MARGUERITE M. MCKEE, A.B. Smith 1920; A.M. 1922. Supplies of the American army in the War of 1812. *Columbia*.
- J. S. MARTELL, B.A. Kings 1932; M.A. Dalhousie 1933. The development of Nova Scotia, 1815-35. *London*.
- R. R. MARTIG, A.B. Oregon 1927; A.M. 1929. The Hudson's Bay Company claims, 1846-1869. *Illinois*.
- D. C. MASTERS, B.A. Toronto 1930; M.A. 1931. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and its relation to British colonial policy. *Oxford*.
- E. S. MEANY, A.B. Washington State 1929; A.M. Harvard 1933. The history of the lumber industry in the Pacific north-west. *Harvard*.
- W. O. MISHOFF, A.B. Carroll 1919; A.M. Iowa 1923; Ph.D. 1933. The Indian policy of Sir William Johnson. *Iowa*.
- M. M. MITCHELL, B.A. British Columbia 1926; A.M. Clark 1927. William Knox and British colonial administration. *Columbia*.
- D. V. MORFORD, A.B. Indiana 1922; A.M. Wisconsin 1926. Detroit in the British administration of the west. *Michigan*.
- E. J. D. MORGAN, E.B. Milwaukee State Teachers College 1929; Ph.M. Wisconsin 1930. Financial basis of the railways of the Old Northwest, 1837-1860. *Wisconsin*.
- HUGH M. MORRISON, B.A. British Columbia 1931; A.M. Clark 1931; Ph.D. 1933. The crown lands of Canada, 1840-1872. *Clark*.
- W. O. MULLIGAN, B.A. Manitoba 1911; M.A. Dalhousie 1914; LL.B. Manitoba 1916; B.D. Manitoba 1917. The administration of Sir Charles Bagot. *McGill*.
- Sister DORIS MULVEY, Op.P., A.B. Wisconsin 1924; A.M. 1925. French Catholic missionaries in the present United States, 1604-1791. *Catholic*.
- IAN MUNRO, LL.B. Toronto 1932. Some problems in the working of the Canadian criminal code. *Toronto (Law)*.
- JEAN E. MURRAY, B.A. Saskatchewan 1922; M.A. 1923; M.A. Toronto 1924. The relation of the fur trade of New Netherland and New York to that of New France, to 1713. *Chicago*.
- HILDA NEATBY, B.A. Saskatchewan 1924; M.A. 1928. The administration of justice under the Quebec Act, 1775-1791. *Minnesota*.
- E. F. O'NEIL, A.B. Harvard 1931; A.M. Michigan 1932. The development of the idea of French encirclement in North America, to 1755. *Michigan*.
- MARGARET ORMSBY, B.A. British Columbia 1929; M.A. 1931. The relation between British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada, 1870-1885. *Bryn Mawr*.
- J. E. PAUTZ, A.B. Northwestern 1916. The development of manufactures in the Great Lakes basin. *Columbia*.
- D. J. PIERCE, B.A. Queen's 1929; M.A. 1930. The historiography of French Canada. *Toronto*.
- J. S. PRENTICE, B.A. Queen's 1920; M.A. 1927. Canadian federal finance since 1900. *Chicago*.
- D. S. REID, M.A. St. Andrews. British public opinion and Anglo-American relations, 1783-1806. *St. Andrews*.
- JOHN BUCHANAN ROLLIT, B.A. McGill 1931; M.A. 1932. Railway and motor transportation—competition or combination. *McGill*.
- GEORGE MEREDITH ROUNTREE, B.A. McGill 1931; M.A. 1933. Employment and unemployment problems of Canadian railways. *McGill*.

- JAMES A. ROY, M.A. Edinburgh. Joseph Howe. *Edinburgh*.
 SEAMAN MORLEY SCOTT, B.A. British Columbia 1921; M.A. Toronto 1922; Ph.D. Michigan 1934. Chapters in the history of the law of Quebec, 1764-1775. *Michigan*.
 VERNON G. SETSER, A.B. Montana 1925; A.M. Illinois 1926. The commercial reciprocity policy of the United States, 1774-1860. *Pennsylvania*.
 J. A. SHEEHY (Brother MEMORIAN), A.B. Manhattan 1929. The Oblate Order in the Canadian north-west. *Toronto*.
 RANBIR SINGH, B.S. California 1929; M.S. Illinois 1930. Rural co-operative banking systems for short-term credit in Canada, United States, and the Union of South Africa: A study in adaptation and development. *Illinois*.
 ENGEL SLUITER, A.B. Stanford 1929. Dutch voyages along the Pacific coast. *California*.
 G. P. STACEY, B.A. Toronto 1927; B.A. Oxford 1929; A.M. Princeton 1931; Ph.D. 1934. Canada and the British army, 1846-1871: A study in the practice of responsible government in the British colonies. *Princeton*.
 C. F. G. STANLEY, B.A. Oxford. The second Riel Rebellion. *Oxford*.
 C. L. STEWART, A.B. California 1927; A.M. 1929. Spanish activities on the North-west coast, 1788-1795. *California*.
 FRED VICTOR STONE, B.A. McGill 1931; M.A. 1933. Unemployment and unemployment relief in western Canada. *McGill*.
 H. M. THOMAS, B.A. Queen's 1920; A.M. Harvard 1923; Ph.D. 1933. The intendancy in New France. *Harvard*.
 HAROLD F. UNDERHILL, B.A. British Columbia 1930. Labour legislation in British Columbia. *California*.
 J. F. WARING, A.B. Yale 1923; A.M. Wisconsin 1932. Credit relations as an imperial and federal problem, 1763-1789. *Wisconsin*.
 GEORGE S. WATTS, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Canadian war finance, 1914-1919. *Columbia*.
 M. J. WEIG, A.B. Buffalo 1930. Mob leaders in the American Revolution. *Chicago*.
 MAE LUCY WEST, B.A. McGill 1927; M.A. 1930. Central banks in the British dominions. *McGill*.
 C. J. WOODSWORTH, B.A. Manitoba. The influence of the Far East on Canadian social and economic history. *London School of Economics*.
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 F. A. ARROWSMITH, B.A. London. The Pacific ports of Canada. *London School of Economics*.
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- W. G. BROWN, B.A. McMaster 1932. Economic aspects of the law relating to monopolies. *Toronto*.
- PAUL EMILE BRUNET. L'impôt et les affaires. *Montréal*.
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- C. C. CALDER, B.A. Western Ontario 1931; M.A. Toronto 1934. Relative powers of the provinces and the dominion. *Toronto*.
- JOHN D. CAMERON, B.A. LL.B. Manitoba. The actual administration of immigration legislation in Canada. *Toronto (Law)*.
- ROBERT E. CAMPBELL, B.A. Toronto 1933. George Brown and the reciprocity negotiations of 1874. *Toronto*.
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- MARJORIE CHAPPELL, B.A. London 1929. The select committee of 1861 on colonial military expenditure, and its antecedents. *London*.
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- Mrs. MINA LITTNER COHN, B.A. Toronto 1931. The law of strikes in Canada. *Toronto (Law)*.
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- VICTOR BERTRAM JOHN COLLINS, B.A. Toronto 1928. Bishop Mountain to 1839. *Toronto*.
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PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO THE HISTORIAN

The bulk of modern newspapers and documents, the short life of modern newspaper stock, and the destruction of rare and often unique documents by the normal wear and tear of use are disturbing archivists and librarians everywhere. The problem is especially acute with newspapers. To preserve an average city newspaper would require the binding of three or four large volumes annually and the provision of ample storage space which in a few years make the cost almost prohibitive for even the best-endowed libraries. The effort from the point of view of the historians of the future would be sheer waste as modern newsprint will not last, under the most favourable conditions, more than thirty years. A very few metropolitan newspapers print special editions for libraries on rag paper, but these are very bulky and expensive and so far as we know no Canadian newspapers are being preserved in this way. The preservation in a permanent form of selected files of smaller local newspapers, which are in their own way quite as important as the metropolitan dailies, is not being attempted. The historian of the present finds in the newspapers of a century ago a mine of information on social, economic, and political development. The newspaper has now come to be an even more influential element in society than it was a century ago. Surely it will be one of the ironies of history if, as seems likely to be the case, the historian of a century hence finds that the newspapers of the early decades of the twentieth century have literally crumbled into dust and disappeared.

The situation with regard to other types of records is scarcely less alarming. Their disappearance to a large extent seems to be ensured almost as certainly as in the case of the newspapers by the present use of the typewriter and of cheap paper both for correspondence and for printing. Anyone who wishes verification of these statements might well read the admirable report on *The durability of paper* issued in 1930 by the Library Association of England. The records of governments will doubtless escape the ravages of time to a greater degree than newspapers and private records, but later generations will find, as we do at present, that official records tell only a small part of the story. Much has been done by hand-copying and the use of photostats, but these methods are often inadequate, as with newspapers, or too expensive.

It is a source of deep gratification that photography now appears likely to provide solutions for some of the most pressing of these problems of destruction. Within the past four or five years the apparatus of fire-proof film, special cameras, and projectors has been developed so rapidly that it is safe to say that the method has passed the experimental stage although many improvements in detail will doubtless be made. The initial expense for the apparatus is comparatively small and the cost of materials will probably run as low as one-half cent for an exposure which would photograph a newspaper page. The cost of shelving is almost negligible. At the Library of Congress, students may buy reproductions of documents in film for from three to five cents per exposure.

Valuable work in investigating the method and in making its results available to archives, libraries, and scholars in general is being done by the Library of Congress in Washington and by a joint committee on materials for research which has been appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. It is hoped to establish a film-copying service for libraries by which the cost of film copies could be very materially reduced even below the figures mentioned above. Students may thus have placed at their disposal exact reproductions of large bodies of material and may often avoid expensive journeys or errors in transcription. At the Canadian Historical Association in May last an excellent discussion and demonstration of the method were given by Dr. J. J. Talman of the Ontario Archives and Professor R. G. Trotter of Queen's University. Canadian archives and libraries should avail themselves fully of the advantages which these new methods offer.

REVIEW ARTICLE

ANNUAL SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW¹

THE outstanding work in the recent literature is undoubtedly the Australian and New Zealand volumes of the *Cambridge history of the British Empire*, which are planned, as was the Canadian volume, under the general editors with the assistance of dominion advisors. Needless to say, they follow the well-known lines of the Cambridge histories; and it is unnecessary to waste time in discussing the merits and defects of the type. Time has, however, proved that the merits outweigh defects, and that the qualities, so evident in these volumes, of expert scholarship, practical and objective form, the blending of economic, social, and cultural history with political and constitutional events, and magnificent bibliographies more than make up for the absence of fine rhetorical or romantic presentation. In addition, as in the Canadian volume, native scholars

¹*The Cambridge History of the British Empire*. Edited by J. HOLLAND ROSE et al. Vol. VII, part I: *Australia*. Part II: *New Zealand*. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1933. Pp. xix, 759; xiii, 309. (\$9.00; \$4.50)

Federations: A Study in Comparative Politics. By D. G. KARVE. With a foreword by Sir J. A. R. MARRIOTT. Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. xv, 318. (\$1.35)

I "Dominions" *Britannici e le Conferenze Imperiali*. By RAFFAELE CASALI. Padova, Italy: Cedam, via Japelli 5. 1932. Pp. viii, 465. (30 lire)

Fundamental Law and the American Revolution, 1760-1776. By CHARLES F. MULLETT. New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. 216. (\$3.00)

The Statute of Westminster, 1931. By K. C. WHEARE. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1933. Pp. vi, 128. (\$1.75)

The Statute of Westminster. By W. P. M. KENNEDY (Juridical review, XLV (4), Dec., 1933, 330-43).

The Constitution of Northern Ireland. By Sir ARTHUR S. QUEKETT. Belfast: H.M.S.O. 1933. Pp. xliii, 660. (37s. 6d.)

Report on Ministers' Powers. London: H.M.S.O. (Cmd. 4060) (2s. 6d.)

Memoranda Submitted by Government Departments. London: H.M.S.O. Non-P. 39-57-1 (15s.)

Minutes of Evidence. London: H.M.S.O. Non-P. 39-57-2 (30s.)

Parliamentary Opinion of Delegated Legislation. By CHIN-MAI CHEN. New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. 149.

Address before the Ontario Members of the Canadian Bar Association. By the Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM MULOCK (Canadian bar review, XII (1), Jan., 1934, 35-41).

The Parliamentary Powers of English Government Departments. By JOHN WILLIS. (Harvard studies in administrative law, IV.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1933. Pp. 214. (\$3.50)

Canada's Power to Perform Treaty Obligations. By VINCENT C. MACDONALD (Canadian bar review, XI (9), Nov., 1933, 581-99; (10), Dec., 1933, 664-80).

Parliamentary Jurisdiction by Declaration. By VINCENT C. MACDONALD ([1934] 1 Dominion law reports, pp. 1 ff.).

List of Publications on the Constitutional Relations of the British Empire, 1926-1932. Compiled by EVANS LEWIN. Published jointly by the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2 and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James's Square, London, S.W.1. 1933. Pp. vii, 71. (1s.)

bear the burden of the great task, and both dominions are to be congratulated on the quality of the work, as well as on the manner in which they have carried out the principles laid down by the general editors and their advisors. In this connection, it is well to point out that, with an exception here and there, and not of vital importance, the task of editing has been carried out with remarkable and almost uniform success. In praising the finished work, the editorial accomplishments are liable to be overlooked. The two volumes stand as a monument of scholarship in chapters fitted into an historical unity through the wisdom and insight of the editors and their Australian and New Zealand assistants. It was, too, a happy thought that New Zealand should be given separate treatment, blended but not mixed up with Australia. At this point I should like to make only one adverse criticism, and one which applies, if in a lesser degree, to the Canadian volume. It is quite in keeping with the scheme and idea of the series that native writers should write the history of their respective nations. On the other hand, however, it is possible to detect in these volumes a certain inwardness of approach which sees the developments too much from the point of view of newer and younger states, at the expense often of a fuller recognition of the older roots and of the inherited traditions. This criticism does not overlook possible excuses, which are on the whole valid. Both nations, compared with Canada, are relatively young. The essential foundations of neither go back to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Thus their intra-imperial relations are quite different from those of Canada. Neither knew either by practical experience or political neighbourhood the bitter sorrow of the older empire—barren conceptions of rigid sovereignty, the curse of religious bickerings, the blight of mercantilism, racial antagonisms, domestic wars, and significant rebellions. It is true that the American Revolution is related to the beginnings in the early settlements and in the possibility that the United Empire Loyalists might find a new home in the southern seas; but the old empire only touched these nations incidentally, as when, in the processes of political development, a momentary flare-up came over responsible government, and Durham's *Report* did duty in newspaper columns as the battle ground of freedom. On the whole, however, the history is not coloured with profound constitutional or imperial issues. It is rather an account of economic and social development, the fitting of immigrants and their offspring into a geographical environment in which material problems predominate. There is, then, valid excuse for the inwardness of the narrative, though we still believe it is somewhat over-emphasized.

In a work of vast scope it is impossible to criticize or review in detail. Canadians will, however, find interesting points of comparison in the accounts of the economic and social structures which have been reared, and they can well learn from them the worthlessness of comparisons if merely studied as examples of either success or failure. More profitable is the history of federation, where avoidance of the Canadian type and reliance on American precedents led to some strange judicial varieties, admirably and carefully reviewed by Sir William H. Moore. One thing the Canadian can see in clarity—the exact meaning of the attitude of

Australia and New Zealand to the commonwealth. If geography influences the Canadian outlook, and if Canadians must inevitably see things as inhabitants of North America, so isolation in the Pacific modifies the inwardness of Australian and New Zealand life and does much to make Canadians realize and appreciate the relativity of their "equal nationhood".

It is a natural transition to pass from the history of the Australian federation to Mr. Karve's study, which is an interesting and worthy product of Indian scholarship. Mr. Karve's work contains little that is new; but it has the blessed gift of avoiding the theoretical, of proceeding along the historical method, and of realizing the futility of imitation. It is true that federalism has lost much of the hopes and glamour which gathered round it in the nineteenth century, and that the excessive nationalism of these perilous days has turned men's thoughts from its possibilities and workings. Mr. Karve's admirable study, coming as it does from India, may be perhaps a sign of a worthy resurrection. If that be so, those who long for a path made safe for humanity might well read the modest work of this Indian scholar and admire something of his quiet and constructive hopes. It would be invidious to point out small errors of fact or of interpretation. The little book is stimulating, suggestive, and perhaps symptomatic. It ought not to have been published without an index.

In this connection we may well place Dr. Casali's learned monograph. The author covers well-known ground and he presents for Italian readers a survey on the whole adequate and well informed. Indeed, Dr. Casali is much wider read than many of the foreign writers, who, within recent years, have dealt with the constitutional development and laws of the commonwealth, and his work discloses also that he possesses, what few foreigners possess, a remarkable knowledge of the necessary and invaluable periodical literature of the subject. Doubtless we shall not find here any of Dr. Lo Verde's juristic insight to which we referred last year. On the other hand, the book will admirably serve the practical purpose of the learned series to which it belongs, a service handicapped by a bibliography based on no known principles and by the absence of an index and any possible facilities for reference. Most interesting, however, is the underlying approach of the volume. Just as Mr. Karve is seeking cohesion among the problems of unity amid diversity, so Dr. Casali begins with Turgot's dire prophecies of imperial disintegration, and is intensely interested in the events which fortunately have disclosed the futility of such a dangerous liberty. Indeed, it may be said that through the whole European literature on the subject, which within recent years has reached such remarkable proportions, there runs a strange yearning after that *nescio quid* which cements the Britannic states. Such a method might perhaps discount the qualities of scholarship and objectivity; but Dr. Casali avoids these dangers by skill in emphasis, and by subordinating the yearning to the suggestiveness of constitutional accomplishment—a realization of different points of view, of different cultures, behind which lies, best unexpressed, a sense of cohesive realism. Indeed, as he points out, the old empire fell through emphasis on the strict rules of cohesion at the expense of inevitable constitutional growth.

This approach to the old empire forms the subject of Mr. Mullett's

admirable study. The whole apparatus of colonial defences against the baneful rigidity of eighteenth-century constitutional law is examined with a care and scholarship seldom before given to it. It is, of course, well known, that the American colonies developed legal theories to fit into their community life and that they met the strict law deriving from the municipal law of 1688 with legal theories older and more traditional than the English revolution. To Dr. R. G. Adams and to Professors McIlwain and Schuyler we already owe obligations for their studies in this connection. No one, however, has written with greater care than has Mr. Mullett. It may be true, as he says, that the colonials bolstered up theories to fit the facts, while the statesmen at the Imperial Conferences, 1926-30, provided theoretical statements to describe actual conditions. Be that as it may, no one can read Mr. Mullett's fascinating pages without seeing more than analogies between the colonial theories and the principles which govern to-day in constitutional issues. Indeed, it would be possible in place after place to parallel many a modern speech, many a modern disquisition with the utterances and writings of the American colonists. The facetious may see in their statements the selective if not the imaginative methods of advocates for the defence. We prefer no such categorical judgments. Rather were these men the men of vision, the men of insight, the men of an older legal tradition, who found in the Whig settlement a "revolution" indeed, and who refused to accept it, either in its interpretation of law or in its bulwarks, as that supreme accomplishment of final purpose which it, alas, achieved in the legal and political stagnation of the succeeding generation. For a young writer Mr. Mullett has produced a work of remarkable promise. As yet he writes in a "doctorate" style, which, however, it is almost impossible for young scholars to escape in the North American atmosphere of hot-house learning. This he will overcome, because he has the instincts of an historian: objectivity, patience, not a little insight and modesty in presentation and in conclusions. We congratulate him on a book which may well be read for itself and, if not for its lessons, at least for its warnings. There is a first-class index and bibliography.

The accomplishments of 1926-30 form the subject of Mr. Wheare's little volume on the Statute of Westminster, which is outstandingly the best book which has yet appeared on that word-worried enactment. First of all, its value arises out of the author's fundamental approach, in which he sees the statute not as an isolated document, but as an element in the entire structure of constitutional law; not as "an event in British constitutional history", but as an element in the processes of responsible government, which must be viewed "in the light of the history which made it and which embodied it". Nor is it a written constitution which puts into "an iron framework the essentially flexible and ever growing and changing conventions of the constitutional frame-work". Here is good doctrine and sound learning for no one can set bounds to the march of nationhood or venture to cabin and confine the possible ingredients in the concept of responsible government—not even the "sovereign" British parliament. Mr. Wheare throws some crumbs to the greedy legalists, and concedes that the "sovereignty" still remains. It is an un nourishing concession

not likely to produce the bone and tissue of vital constitutional growth. If it be true, it can be answered, as Professor Keith has wisely answered, that the law remains shorn of its power in the creation of a moral obligation by the British parliament more binding than any law. Indeed, as I have pointed out in the *Juridical review*, there is something strange in a "sovereignty" which is obliged to pass a statute in the exact terms agreed on by the dominions, a fact to which the attorney-general drew attention in the House of Commons. Differing from Mr. Wheare, others may see in the statute a contract or treaty. It really does not matter what it is—what matters is that it was made by the dominions and they will make and remake it as generations of their citizens bring to the garner-houses of the future the rich harvests of their political and legal experiences. Most successful is Mr. Wheare's discussion of the particular application of the statute to each dominion. In this connection, the problems in relation to the Irish Free State are viewed with insight. There can be little doubt that the abolition by the Free State of appeals to the Judicial Committee is fully within its competency, and that there is much more to be said for recent events there than the average citizens may suppose. The author has allowed his modesty to run away with his common sense in not providing an index for a careful and judicial study. As a new edition will doubtless be called for, this defect ought to be remedied and a table of cases added. There are also some other points which need correction. Some attention ought to be given to the principles laid down, in introducing the bill, by his majesty's ministers in the United Kingdom. They constitute fundamentals (pp. 6-7). It is surely time to cease perpetuating the idea that the cabinet is a committee of the Privy Council (p. 16). This is true neither technically nor by appointment. The clerk of the Privy Council summons it, and it meets at the council office or "wherever the King may be". The cabinet meets at the prime minister's residence and is summoned by its own secretary not as a committee or even as members of the Privy Council, but as "His Majesty's servants". Poulett Thomson's name is misspelled (p. 21). The theory of imperial sovereignty as disputed by James Madison "twenty five years after the Declaration of Independence" was disputed before the declaration, as Mr. Mullett abundantly shows (p. 22). "Proposed reform", in connection with *Attorney-General for New South Wales v. Trethowan*,² is loose (p. 37). In a work of an historical nature, the discussion of extraterritorial power should in future have a reference to *Croft v. Dunphy*,³ which vindicates in a large measure the traditional Canadian claims before the Statute of Westminster was passed, and raises important issues for Australia, where the statute is not in operation (pp. 38-9). The sentence "The restriction . . . 1930" (pp. 94-5) is extraordinarily obscure. Whatever the sentence means, Canada and each province are relieved by the statute from the restriction of the Colonial Laws Validity Act upon all matters *within* (not "outside") the legislative powers granted to them by the British North America Acts. The powers of South Africa are not made clear (pp. 106-9). In strict law the resolution of the South African parliament

²[1932] A.C. 526.

³[1933] A.C. 156.

confirming the obligation of the "entrenched clauses" of the South Africa Act, 1909, has no validity. At any rate, section 64 of that act dealing with "reservation" is not one of the "entrenched clauses", as that term is used to cover only the clauses guarded in section 152. I have no doubt whatever that South Africa can legally repeal or alter section 64, and for that matter section 152 itself. Law, however, is one thing, political wisdom another.

Constitutional law has been further enriched by an important work on Northern Ireland, which has had the good fortune to possess from its beginnings a thoroughly competent and learned lawyer to interpret the law and custom of its constitution. In 1928, Sir Arthur Quekett, the distinguished parliamentary draftsman to the government of Northern Ireland, published an admirable volume in which he dealt with the origin and development of the constitution. The judicial and historical qualities of that work made it inevitable that we should expect him to provide, out of his learning and experience, a treatise expounding the workings of the constitutional developments. The work under review will at once take its place as a standard treatise. The plan is first-class. The text of the statutes which govern the status and authorities of Northern Ireland is set out in detail with invaluable annotations. The original act of 1920 is first surveyed and this is followed by the amending British statutes since that date, a study of which is essential for any understanding of the present situation. From these beginnings, the learned author proceeds to clothe the statutory skeleton with the body of successful accomplishments. The entire method of approach and the skill in presentation are admirable. It is not often that a book largely technical moves forward as a work of art, illuminated by careful judgments and informed by experienced learning. We cannot recall any new jurisdiction which has been so excellently served. No one interested in the extraordinary adaptation of our common institutions ought to neglect this valuable work. Indeed, it is of some importance to watch a new democratic constitution achieve solidity and popular approval in a world of political chaos. The book is learned, accurate, and comprehensive, while every facility is provided for its use. The format reflects the greatest credit on the publishers.

In these annual surveys attention has been frequently called to the growing importance of the literature of administrative law. Valuable additions have recently been made to it. First of all there is the *Report of evidence on ministers' powers* which is a veritable mine of historical and practical information which no one interested in modern government can afford to neglect. The heterogeneous composition of the committee resulted in a report which in its conclusions is a curious hotchpot of compromises; but the memoranda by government departments are an exhaustive collection of statutory powers, while the *Minutes of evidence* are invaluable. The volumes do not lend themselves to general review and are more suited for technical criticism. The general reader and student can, however, extract from them much that will throw light on tendencies in administration and on the present position of the so-called "rule of law". Indeed, in connection with the "rule of law" Dr. Chin-mai

Chen's book is of special value in that he discloses the fact, while surveying criticisms and defences made since 1832 in the Lords and Commons as delegating bills have been under discussion, that "the guardians of the constitution and of parliamentary supremacy" of to-day become the champions of delegation to-morrow. In a word, parliament, as a condition of its survival, has had to make serious attempts in some way or other to serve society. We ought, then, to view the advent of administrative "law" in its historical settings before we contemplate its workings. For the latter Mr. Willis's study is of outstanding, even brilliant, importance, and all students of affairs ought to read it with critical care. Although the volume belongs to the "Harvard studies in administrative law" and is written under the inspiration of research made famous by Professor Frankfurter, yet the author is an Englishman and a distinguished graduate of Oxford, and he has thus brought to his work that intimate personal knowledge which always serves to illuminate scholarship. His work fills a long-felt want, for apart from Carr's excellent *Delegated legislation* first published as long ago as 1921, there was nothing either intimate or adequate in the field. To-day in England, as in Canada, there is statute upon statute, with not a few judicial decisions, dealing with administrative powers delegated to ministers, departments, commissions, or boards. In England the situation has given rise to the report and evidence already referred to; while in Canada, from another angle, the chief justice of Ontario has drawn Canadian public attention to developments which have largely escaped the attention of the average citizen, while practical lawyers are ignorant of them or affect to treat them with disdain. Mr. Willis writes as no advocate of the so-called "rule of law". Rather he sees the problems as the inevitable products of a civilization growing more complex and impossible to govern directly by a central authority functioning through the traditional judicial systems. In no other work is it possible so clearly to view the processes in the relationship between the legislature, the executive, and the courts. For Mr. Willis, the delegation of powers by parliament is not accepted as a mere fact to be described, perhaps with uninformed fears, perhaps with a sense of life's inevitable difficulties. It is seen first of all in reality. For Mr. Willis is no doctrinaire. There must be delegation of powers. Parliament is too unwieldy, too untrained, too overworked either to understand or to deal directly with the myriad interdependent issues of modern days. There is a large complexity of services to be carried on, and they can only function at all effectively along administrative lines. There is no place here for uncritical attacks on bureaucracy, for theoretical attitudes fortified by shibboleths and watch-words. The truth is that administrative law is with us, and it is futile to evaluate it through "the fog of the common law". Nor is it to be met, if met it must be, by "the drive instituted by the legal profession". The man with the vote, the average man, wants a living wage, reasonable protection in industry, a reasonable house, and so on. Others desire a reasonable control within and over the professional, business, social, or economic groups which largely condition their daily lives. Social justice is the ever-growing demand, and it cannot be found amid the technicalities and fictions of a legal past. The real answer to administrative law is not

moaning over law courts, legal procedure, the rule of law. Rather must we find out if administrative tribunals give substantial justice and if they satisfy social ends and the reasonable desires of those for whose service they are created. Efficient working—in the deepest sense—must be the test as against lip service to legal tradition. Mr. Willis's book stands out as the most brilliant and careful in the field. He approaches administrative law in a practical way, and he is not diverted from the objectivity due to a great subject by preconceived arguments or principles valid in a simpler society and age.

Indeed the complexities of our generation have brought to the front in Canada as never before the stagnating influence of the British North America Act. For those who are interested in this important question Dr. Vincent MacDonald's studies are of vital importance. Though technical in nature, the average layman can follow them; and it is important that he should do so. He will be convinced that no judicial witchcraft can make the act work in the service of society.

Finally, we should like to draw attention to the admirable bibliography compiled by Mr. Evans Lewin, the distinguished and learned librarian of the Royal Empire Society. There can be no doubt that in its library and by its officials a great work is being done for scholarship in the United Kingdom in conjunction with the library of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. There can really be no excuse for ill-informed statements in the United Kingdom about commonwealth affairs. We congratulate Mr. Lewin on his admirable work in the service of deeper and truer understandings.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting. By W. A. MACKINTOSH. (*Canadian Frontiers of Settlement*, edited by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, vol. I.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xv, 242. (\$4.00)

THE first volume of the series of nine volumes on Canadian frontiers of settlement augurs well for the series. It is an authoritative treatise on the physical and climatic conditions under which the settling of western Canada has taken place. It is, of course, not possible to avoid completely the complicating factors of transportation, policies affecting land settlement, and the influence of ethnic groups, which factors will be dealt with independently in later volumes of the series. They cannot be avoided, because they are integral parts of the picture. But the author has been successful in focusing attention on the environment provided by nature, the environment which the pioneer had to accept and could not modify. The wealth of detail which this volume provides as to the growth of settlement is used only to illustrate the influence of the physical environment as it acted continuously on the stream of pioneers seeking their new homes in this spacious territory. It is true that they were guided by the railways; but the railways were in turn guided by the knowledge—such as it was—of soil and climate suitable for successful settlement. The mistakes, tragic in their consequences, were made when the location of the railways was decided on without due regard to climate or soil, or both. From such mistakes the Canadian west will recover slowly, and at great cost in money and in human values.

The physical factors with which Professor Mackintosh deals—are the nature of the soil, the distribution of forest, the total precipitation for the twelve-month period and for the growing period, the length of the growing season, the average summer temperature, the incidence of killing frosts, and the variability factor, particularly with reference to precipitation. The data are presented with the aid of a series of maps and charts which give an exceedingly clear picture of the conditions which obtain in western Canada. The maps show that precipitation is a dominant factor in the situation. That is as the reader would expect. What has not been sufficiently realized—and here Mr. Mackintosh has performed a very important service—is that the degree of variability from the normal is even more significant than the amount of rainfall. The farmer has been able, to a considerable extent, to acclimatize himself to the conditions—provided he can count on uniformity of conditions. He has been helpless where there has been great variability: and it is precisely in the semi-arid area that the variability is greatest. It would have been helpful had the author analysed the question of periodicity—or otherwise—of such variations. There will be no safety in regions of high variability unless the conditions can be forecast and a policy developed in advance.

Not once, but repeatedly, will the reader find his attention drawn to the fact that Palliser made a wise forecast with reference to his well-

known "Triangle". Had his advice been followed, the semi-arid ranching country would have been left untouched—wisely, as the event has proved. It is encouraging to find set forth the soil surveys in the northern fringes, which should make it impossible for governments to go far wrong in future policies of settlement. Particularly in the last "great west" of the Peace River territory have reconnaissance surveys anticipated the future settlers, and assisted in the framing of land policies by the government. In this respect, at least, we have reached the stage of scientific settlement.

This is an entrancing story of a great Canadian epoch, a story well told, carefully illustrated, and beautifully got out. It sets a standard for a series of volumes which, if they maintain this standard of quality, will represent the first authoritative study in any country of the physical, economic, and social factors which together have had their influence on a pioneering adventure. No better single area than the Canadian west could have been selected for such a study: Canadian social science will be greatly enriched thereby.

ROBT. C. WALLACE

Canada. By A. STANLEY WALKER. (Modern states series, no. 4.) London: Arrowsmith. Toronto, 84-6 Wellington Street, West. 1934. Pp. xii, 132. (3s. 6d.)

Histoire du Canada pour tous. By JEAN BRUCHESL. Vol. I: *Le régime français.* (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévêque. 1933. Pp. 367. (\$1.25)

THE volume *Canada* by Mr. A. Stanley Walker is one of the first numbers in the Modern states series to appear. The aim of this series is "to present, in a reasonably moderate compass, the complete story of the development of the States of the World, from their origin to the present day", stressing the last thirty or forty years, and particularly the period since the Great War. It might be expected, therefore, that the Canadian volume would begin with some analysis of the forces playing upon British North America in 1867 and proceed with increasing detail to trace the evolution of the present Canadian state. Instead, the first fifty pages of this small book of 125 pages are devoted to the re-telling of the old story of Canada since Cabot. It is a dusty road and the recital is conspicuous neither for its judicious selection of material nor for its arresting style. That Canada should have been described as "a tapeworm running along a railroad which could never hope to earn enough to pay for its own axle-grease", leaves one impressed but unenlightened. Figures crowd each other off the stage. Roberval is here momentarily; so are Corte-Real, Verazzano, and Groseilliers, Abercromby, Metcalfe, and Cathcart. Indeed one is given not so much the impression of a building in the making as of a parade. Nor can the errors in the first part of the book be lightly condoned. Recent research into the history of Nova Scotia during the American Revolution makes it no longer possible to assert that the American Tories were attracted to that province because it was so "intensely loyal" (p. 29). Prior to 1791 the Loyalists of the Eastern Townships could hardly have had great weight with the British

government (p. 31) for a very good reason. That the Canada Trade Act of 1822 "gave to Quebec one-fifth of the customs duties" (p. 33) may well have been a slip of the pen, but hardly that "by 1867 . . . one could travel by rail from Lake Huron to Halifax" (p. 43).

The beginnings of the Canadian state are told in rather halting fashion. Even Tupper never claimed that prior to the Charlottetown Conference the Maritime Provinces "had evolved a scheme of Confederation among themselves" (p. 55). Nor did they adopt any scheme of union, before, during, or after that conference. Each province of the dominion did not originally have a bi-cameral legislature (p. 105).

After 1867 the author appears to be treading on firmer ground. The story increases in interest and vitality as it proceeds toward the twentieth century. Macdonald and Laurier are both alive. However, more emphasis is placed on the struggle for party control than on the emergence of a new Canadian state. The rôle of the press is almost wholly ignored, while much valuable space is taken up with the struggle over the religious control of universities. Because of the increasing interest in the emergence of a new Canadian state and because the inclusion of this book in the Modern states series will attract attention to it beyond the bounds of Canada, the reviewer earnestly hopes for an early second edition.

The history of Canada in the French régime easily lends itself to vivid human treatment. M. Jean Bruchesi, in the first volume of his *Histoire du Canada pour tous*, has written a moving tale. The drama is essentially biographical. When, toward the end of the French period, events in Europe and North America lead to a slackening of the thrust of French Christian culture on the wilderness, the story becomes more analytic and there is a noticeable decline in forcefulness.

Here is no parade of scholarship. There are no footnotes, no index, and but a slight bibliography. It is indeed *pour tous*. As such it is perhaps idle to expect the drawing of fine distinctions between the probable and the possible, or the weighing of the credibility of various primary sources. Only once does the author's fine equanimity appear to fail, when (p. 96) he reviles the *prétendus historiens* who would detract from the valour of Dollard. Although the interference of the English is naturally reprobated, one does not find that bitterness which has come with the Garneau tradition. The internal bickerings within both Canada and Acadia are noted, but hardly made as vital as the grand alliance between missionary and soldier. Compared with these heroes of church and state, the economic members of the community—fishermen, habitants, traders—are rather pale. For its purpose the book is well executed, and the second volume will be awaited.

W. M. WHITELAW

Pierre Radisson, roi des coureurs de bois. By DONATIEN FRÉMONT.

Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1933. Pp. 264. (\$1.00)

Né à Québec—Louis Jolliet, récit. By ALAIN GRANDBOIS. Paris: Albert Messein, éditeur. 1933. Pp. 256. (12 fr.)

THERE are few events in the history of Canada more open to dispute

than some of those concerned with the career of that amazing fur-trader Pierre Esprit Radisson. To settle arguments the historian looks for records; but in the case of Radisson the publication of the documents brought not peace but a sword: ever since the printing of his *Voyages* in 1885 an intermittent controversy has been maintained. The two chief points at issue are well known: Did Radisson reach the upper Mississippi and, did he travel overland to Hudson Bay or James Bay? In each case if it can be proved that he made the journey, he would be the first European known to have done so. The only evidence that has come to light is highly confusing and open to a wide variety of interpretations. Historians and other writers have taken full advantage of this opportunity for divergent opinions; but, on the whole, their tendency is to consider the discovery of the Mississippi as probable and the northern trip as doubtful. Both problems, however, are as yet apparently far from being resolved, in spite of several studies during recent years which have been noted in this REVIEW.

Mr. Frémont has written a general account of Radisson's career in which he has not attempted a solution of these controversial points. He states in his preface that his sources are the principal secondary works already published, especially those of Miss Agnes Laut. But he seems to have dipped into the *Voyages* as well, since he translates passages from that source, incidentally repeating Radisson's error in calling the royal commissioner in New England "Carterett" instead of Cartwright. Having declared that one will find no echo of past controversies in his book, he overcomes this apparently insurmountable obstacle by giving Radisson credit for everything which the evidence might support and by refraining from all expressions of doubt or even probability. Mr. Frémont has written in a clear and attractive style, and the book will be read with pleasure by those who are not specially interested in the Radisson problems. The book is not provided with references or an index.

The volume on Jolliet is similar in type to that on Radisson in that it does not attempt a solution of controversial problems. Did Jolliet really "discover" the Mississippi?; what became of the sole copy of his original journal?; what part did the Jesuits play in connection with the expedition?—these and other questions are left unanswered. The background of the story occupies much of the author's attention, and, where history fails him, he does not hesitate to borrow generously from conjecture, remaining always, however, within the limits of strong possibility. The narrative runs the length of the seventeenth century and takes in the most heroic and spectacular episodes in the contemporary history of New France. Varied descriptions of natural life and scenery provide an historical and imaginative background for the well-known events of Jolliet's career. Some of the author's generalizations have become largely discredited in recent years and there are a few minor errors, but on the whole the level of accuracy is fairly high. The clear and dramatic style is appropriate to what appears to be the author's purpose—to tell a good story in an attractive way. There are neither references nor an index; but a short bibliography is appended.

DONALD J. PIERCE

LE BLANT, ROBERT. *Une figure légendaire de l'histoire acadienne: Le Baron de St. Castin*. Dax (Landes), France: Chez P. Pradeu, 13 Cours de Verdun. (18 fr.)

M. LE BLANT has written an extensive but concisely worded sketch of the careers of Baron de St. Castin and of his sons. He has included also the genealogy of the families from which the d'Abadies of St. Castin descended. This book is written with a sympathetic understanding natural to the biographer as it is to the writers of poetry and romance. St. Castin typified those knights whom the chroniclers of the Middle Ages took as models of uprightness and valour because they were above all *frisques et courtois*, that is to say gallant and chivalrous. The author has shown enthusiasm and discrimination in his research. He has thrown some light on the greedy and deceitful relative of St. Castin, the magistrate Labaig, who by his marriage with the baron's sister, claimed to inherit the possessions of his brother-in-law in the Pyrenees. M. Le Blant has raised several very important points in the life of the St. Castins, and the history of Acadia. He writes with care and puts forward nothing which is not supported by documents. One might have wished for fewer typographical errors in so scholarly a work.

EDMOND BURON

Font's Complete Diary: A Chronicle of the Founding of San Francisco. Translated from the original Spanish manuscript and edited by HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. 1933. Pp. 552. (\$4.00)

PROFESSOR BOLTON is the apostle of the essential unity of American history. His thesis is that the story cannot be studied intelligently save as a whole, so as to allow the full operation of the force and influence of one nation's policy on that of another.

From the time of Balboa the Pacific Ocean had been claimed as a possession of Spain—a Spanish lake. Drake and Cavendish and Dampier had dared to fly the British flag on its surface; but that challenge to Spain had been the act of individuals carrying on private war. Such adventurers, looting Spanish vessels and cities, did not concern themselves with permanent possession of any territory. But in the early years of the eighteenth century a new menace appeared, threatening to dispute Spain's ownership of western America. The danger now was not from Cape Horn and the British lion but from Bering Sea and the Russian bear.

In pursuit of the silver fox and the sea-otter the Russians had made their way from Kamchatka, island by island, and had ultimately established themselves on the mainland of America. It was plain that the bear would slowly lumber southward and thus endanger Spanish authority and sovereignty in California.

To checkmate the Russians' downward move Spain resolved on an upward one. The harbour of Monterey would be occupied and the line of mission settlements which so long had halted at San Fernando in lower California would be quickly extended northward. Though that harbour, so much vaunted, was disappointing, the Franciscan friars Portolá and Serra, in 1770, established there the mission, San Carlos del Carmelo.

In search of a more suitable haven, Portolá pressed on; in the end he discovered the magnificent harbour of San Francisco.

The viceroy determined to insure Spanish sovereignty by occupying that land-locked and strategic port. He chose Juan Bautista de Anza to lead, in 1775, a body of colonists overland from Mexico. In the party was Father Pedro Font, the master chronicler of the journey. The volume under review is a translation of his complete diary covering the whole distance to San Francisco Bay and return.

Mr. Bolton's introduction contains a scholarly summary of the political situation at the time when the journey was undertaken, a concise statement of the route followed, and a short account of Font's life and work. Mr. Bolton has travelled over and examined carefully the whole course of the expedition. His notes may, therefore, be relied upon as accurate identifications of the geographical features.

This volume is of especial interest to Canadians in that the movement it chronicles was closely connected with events on Canadian shores. In 1774, Juan Perez was cruising along the North-west coast on behalf of Spain, intent on taking possession; in 1775 Quadra on the same mission took possession in southern Alaska. The object was identical with that in California: to hem the Russians into the frozen north. In California it took the form of occupancy, but on the northern coast the planting of a cross and the formal act of taking possession were regarded as sufficient to establish Spain's claims to the sovereignty of the region. The trouble at Nootka fifteen years later brought these claims to trial and showed their hollowness.

The book contains more than thirty illustrations, including reproductions of Font's maps, of specimen pages of his manuscript, and of scenes along the route.

F. W. HOWAY

The Memorial of John Meares to the House of Commons respecting the Capture of Vessels in Nootka Sound. Edited with introduction and notes by NELLIE B. PIPES. (Limited and numbered edition of North-west reprints.) Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press. 1933. Pp. xiv, 92. (\$2.00)

THE seizure of John Meares's ships in 1789 brought to the touchstone the age-old claims of Spain to the exclusive navigation, commerce, and fishery of the Pacific Ocean. The first inaccurate news reached England in January, 1790. Slumbering passions were immediately aroused. The war-spirit was in the air. In April, 1790, Meares arrived in London and soon laid before parliament his celebrated *Memorial*.

This *Memorial* exists in two forms: one, the official papers, 31 pages quarto, laid before the House of Commons and ordered to be printed, May 13, 1790; the other, published by Debrett in 65 pages, octavo, apparently copied from the appendix to Meares's *Voyages* (London, 1790). In either form it is expensive and difficult to obtain. Its re-publication by the Metropolitan Press enables every student to possess at small cost this document, so important in the history of the North-west coast. It is, however, to be regretted that the Debrett copy was used in this reprint instead of the original.

The *Memorial* purports to be an accurate narrative of the seizure of Meares's four ships: *Iphigenia*, *North West America*, *Princess Royal*, and *Argonaut*. It abounds in deliberate falsehoods and half-truths. Exaggerated, contradictory, maliciously false, it remains a convincing proof of his mendacity. Its plain purpose was to inflame England against Spain, never a difficult task, and thereby to fill his pockets and those of his co-adventurers with Spanish gold. Meares supplemented this *Memorial* of April 30, 1790, with another of July 30, 1790, and later made a new statement of his alleged losses, actual and prospective. The original claim as set out in the *Memorial* was \$653,433; the amended demand more than trebled these figures, asking for £469,885. In the end, February 12, 1793, he accepted 210,000 Spanish dollars, about one-tenth of his expanded claim. By this time the British Foreign Office had realized his character, for in mentioning the 210,000 dollars the secretary wrote that despite Meares's high language he would accept it. And he did!

Frequently the criticism is made—and justly too—that documents are over-annotated. No such complaint can be made here. The notes, eleven in all, are both scanty and scrappy. The editor has missed a golden opportunity of indicating to the student the care with which all of Meares's statements should be scrutinized. She has made no effort to evaluate the document or to show the falsity of many of its "facts". No use has been made of Martinez's manuscript diary, or of the wealth of material in the British Foreign Office, or even of the contemporary printed authorities.

The book has been poorly proof-read; such mistakes as the comma inserted in the name of William Wyndham Grenville (p. 1); he "sailed for Nootka" for he "sailed from Nootka" (p. 10); and "lawful" for "unlawful" (p. 48) are absolutely inexcusable. It has no index; it has not even a table of contents.

F. W. HOWAY

Toronto's 100 Years. By JESSE EDGAR MIDDLETON. Toronto: The Centennial Committee. [Southam Press.] 1934. Pp. viii, 227. (50 cents paper; \$2.00 cloth)

Toronto: From Trading Post to Great City. By EDWIN GUILLET. With 167 illustrations, selected and arranged by the author. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company. 1934. Pp. xxii, 496. (\$7.50)

MR. MIDDLETON's book, which one could have wished to see published without sixty-four pages of advertisements, artistically arranged though they are, is far more than a compilation of facts and figures relating to Toronto. With its artistry and its whimsical humour, it is a piece of literature, attempting successfully to portray the soul and the personality of the city.

In pithy, quotable sentences and in admirably selected, pleasingly treated scenes and portraits is traced, in fifteen chapters, the growth of the place, and are delineated the men to whom that growth is to be credited. As a tribute to the latter, the epilogue contains the magnificent poem from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, "Let us now praise famous men", which is printed a second time in giving the "Order of service of thanksgiving" for March 5.

Among the many good things in the book there are a few statements that would be the better for amplification or for correction. A striking omission is the failure to mention the late Dr. Williams with the late Dr. Carman as joint general superintendent in the early years of reunited Methodism. The late Mr. Storm was William G., not "Frederick". The Baron von Moll is the customary form of William Berczy's title. "Amelekites" is the compositor's rendering of Amalekites.

Fairly numerous and, in some instances, somewhat serious mistakes occur in Mr. Guillet's book, the appearance of which follows marvellously closely on that of his *Early life in Upper Canada*. Like the latter, it is a monument to his great industry, follows a topical rather than a chronological arrangement, and contains an exceedingly well-made bibliography and index, which, unhappily, the circumstances of publication prevented from being provided for Mr. Middleton's volume.

From the bibliography, which would have been still more helpful if it had distinguished between contemporary and modern books, are lacking, strange to remark, Brigadier-General Cruikshank's *Simcoe papers* and his *Russell papers*, without consultation of which—or of the originals of the documents—the history of Toronto from 1792 to 1808 cannot be adequately written. Copious extracts are made from *Robertson's landmarks of Toronto*, which have not received—perhaps, as Mr. Guillet seems to imply, could not receive—that rigorous checking which they require. Thus information of doubtful trustworthiness is in some cases disseminated. A specific case in point is the passing on without correction a newspaper correspondent's recent assertion that "Sleepy Hollow" belonged to Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bt., instead of to his second son, the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, Q.C., some time lieutenant-governor of Ontario, who was not a "Sir", albeit he was the son, brother, uncle, father, and grandfather of baronets. By disregarding the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell's note on the mistranslation of the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt's *de la meilleure espèce*, regrettably wider currency has been given to the questionable, if not wholly fallacious, statement that certain of the earliest of the city's inhabitants were bad characters, whereas their principal shortcoming was seemingly lack of capital.

With the exception of one or two rather heavy chapters, the excerpts from contemporary sources are pleasantly connected and made into a readable narrative. The pictures, excellent in themselves, would have been yet more effective if they had been given larger space and if they had been always set in close proximity to the relevant reading matter. Taken as a whole, however, the book is an improvement on *Early life in Upper Canada*.

A. H. YOUNG

The Yellow Briar: A Story of the Irish on the Canadian Countryside.

By PATRICK SLATER [JOHN MITCHELL]. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1933. Pp. 253. (\$2.00)

THIS simple little book is a singularly fresh and original contribution to the brief catalogue of good Canadian historical fiction. When one considers the numerical importance of the Irish in Victorian Canada, the breadth of their influence upon the development of the country, and the

peculiar colour and variety with which they enriched the pattern of Canadian life, it seems a trifle surprising that they have not hitherto bulked larger in Canadian literature. It is a matter for congratulation that a writer well qualified for the task has now told the tale of an Irish rural community in Upper Canada in the first decades following the great famine migration; for the characteristic society which he describes is to-day almost entirely a thing of the past.

The book takes the form of the memoirs of an Irishman who came to Canada as a child in the tragic year 1847, and who grew up among the Irish-Canadian farmers, Protestant and Roman Catholic, who settled the townships north-west of Toronto. Behind the homespun chronicle of Paddy Slater's life and luckless love-affair we catch glimpses of happenings on a larger stage—the great immigration and the plague that followed it, the political controversies of the time, the Canadian echoes of the American Civil War; but the great virtue of the story is the success with which it depicts the society that Paddy knew in the little metropolis of Canada West and on the pioneer farms roundabout. Disagreement in matters of detail might be possible; but to anyone acquainted with the Ontario Irish and their ways, the story and the language in which it is told can hardly fail to carry conviction.

The events narrated end with the year 1865. It seems fair to hope, therefore, that the editor may perhaps make a further excursion into the papers of "the late Mr. Slater" and give us something of the story of his later days. The present volume well deserves the success which it has attained; for though it may here and there betray the touch of the amateur man of letters, it has a very distinct and individual charm. That charm is the result of the sincerity with which it is written and the authenticity of the picture which it paints. It may be said of it, far more truly than of some more pretentious novels claiming to deal with the same section, that it has genuinely grown out of the soil of "the huge pocket of British territory that nestles within the arms of the Great Lakes".

C. P. STACEY

René de Kerallain, 1849-1928: Biographie par PAUL VAN DER VRECKEN DE BORMANS. Pp. 164.

Correspondance de René de Kerallain, 1889-1928. Publiée par Madame René de Kerallain née de Bigault d'Avocourt. Vol. I: 16 décembre 1889-5 mai 1906. Quimper: Imprimerie Bargain, 1, quai du Steir. 1932. Pp. 397.

RENÉ DE KERALLAIN, great grandson of Montcalm's aide-de-camp in Canada, Bougainville, was, no doubt for family reasons, a close student of the history of Canada, especially of the period of the Seven Years' War. The two volumes are a labour of love inspired by Madame de Kerallain. She gives no fewer than three hundred and thirty-three items in the bibliography. They are chiefly reviews covering a wide range of topics. Kerallain was a jurist interested in the various aspects of early society and going so far afield as to India, China, and the lot of the negro and other problems in the United States. One may express some regret that he did not concentrate on a complete life of his great ancestor, whose

mathematical genius won a fellowship of the Royal Society of England when he was only twenty-six years old. After his service in Canada he turned navigator, sailed round the world, and later was with the French fleet under Admiral de Grasse, victor before Yorktown, but in the following spring defeated by Rodney and carried prisoner to England. Bougainville led from the battle to safety eight ships of the French fleet. Napoleon made him a senator in his old age. The beautiful climbing plant Bougainvillea is now much in evidence on the French Riviera.

In his *Jeunesse de Bougainville* Kerallain challenged the Abbé Casgrain's support of the governor of New France, Vaudreuil, in his relations with Montcalm. Though always restrained and courteous, Kerallain was formidable in controversy and his view of Vaudreuil's pompous vanity in imposing checks on a great soldier is now generally accepted. Kerallain, above all a jurist, translated into French some of the writings of Sir Henry Maine, Sir Alfred Lyall, and Sir Frederick Pollock. Probably no other Frenchman of his time followed affairs in England more closely. During nearly all his life he read *The times* and the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* reviews. His whole energies were devoted to learning. He was born in the house at Quimper where nearly eighty years later he died. Apart from frequent visits to Paris he travelled only once abroad—to Italy. A patient, indefatigable student, he abhorred publicity and many of his writings were either anonymous or under an assumed name. It was perhaps natural that, related as he was to the titled aristocracy of France, he should be royalist and Catholic in opinion. At the same time he was a sceptic in temperament but managed to find harmony between the two outlooks.

The second of the two volumes consists of many striking appreciations of Kerallain and of letters written by him to a great variety of correspondents. Dr. Doughty of the Canadian Archives sought Kerallain's aid in his researches for his great work *The siege of Quebec*. While the letters to Dr. Doughty contain nothing of great importance they show a letter-writer's care and insight not often found in our hurried days. An example is Kerallain's doubt in 1904 of Great Britain's wisdom in her sympathy with Japan in the Far East that has helped to make that nation so formidable. Dr. Doughty, indefatigable in research, asks Kerallain if he can find a portrait of the Marquise de Montcalm and the response is that ladies of her time, who were not at the court or in any public position, thought it a mark of vanity to have their portraits painted. A change came later. While search for a portrait of the marquise would be fruitless, Kerallain added that there is one of Madame de Bougainville who lived into a less reticent period.

A further volume of letters is in course of preparation. Only two hundred and twenty-five of the first and one hundred and fifty copies of the second of the volumes noted are printed, none of them for sale.

GEORGE M. WRONG

Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences. By CLARIS EDWIN SILCOX. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 30 Rockefeller Plaza. 1933. Pp. xvii, 493. (\$3.00)

CHURCH UNION has had a long history in Canada; it began in 1817 with

the fusion of two small Presbyterian bodies. Other unions followed before Confederation in 1867. Then the trend of the times, which had brought about political unity, effected consolidation within the different communions. The Presbyterian Church in Canada dates from 1875, the Methodist Church (Canada) from 1884. Long before 1900 there was widespread feeling after a wider union; but, from that date on, the west was being settled so rapidly that these two churches found themselves staggering under the burden of a competitive system. The movement for union was launched at Winnipeg in 1902; the union of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches was consummated on June 10, 1925, one-third of the Presbyterian Church standing aloof, resolved to go on as a separate communion.

The New York Institute of Social and Religious Research has for many years been promoting studies of local co-operation among the churches of the United States. In 1930 the Institute gave Dr. Silcox a commission to examine and appraise the processes by which the United Church of Canada came into existence and the present working of that church. Part 1 of his book is an account, historical and descriptive, of the background. Part 2 tells the story from 1902 to 1925. Part 3 is entitled "Aftermath"; the break in the Presbyterian body involved adjustments in every part of the country. Dr. Silcox has assembled his material with diligence and set it out with clarity and in a very few cases has a mistaken date been detected. The task was an extraordinarily complicated one; perhaps the years following 1925, even more than those before, showed that there was no interest or impulse of human nature, good or bad, that did not have a part in the struggle. Happily the flames are gone, but in scores of places Dr. Silcox found the ashes hot. It seems that it was easier for him to understand the United Church than to understand the Presbyterian Church; manifestly he finds the temper and outlook of the former more congenial. If his strictures on the United Church are severe at times, they are the wounds of a friend. It is clear that he has tried honestly to be fair in his judgment of persons and motives in both groups. He has wisely made few excursions into the land of "might-have-been".

Dr. Silcox has drawn his material from two sources. Most of it is in print or in manuscript form. But much of it came to him in conversation with participants in the movement. The former source will remain for other workers in the field; it cannot yield much more than it has for this study. The latter source flows with a smaller stream each year and will soon dry up. Indeed, the water that flows from this source to-day is not the water of ten years ago, so strangely does the process of reflection and rationalization change the colour of experience. It is very difficult already to recapture the living experience of 1924-5, its ideas, emotions, desires. Each year data are slipping out of reach of the historian; the years will give in recompense a surer perspective.

RICHARD DAVIDSON

The Separate School Question in Canada. By GEORGE M. WEIR. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. ix, 298. (\$2.50)

THE subject is discussed largely from a legal and an administrative standpoint. To his difficult task Mr. Weir brings unusual, if not unique, qualifications, and the *Ultima Thule* of Canada is to be congratulated in having obtained as its new minister of education, a man learned in the law as well as skilled in the practice of education.

The work is a compact summary of the constitutional and legal basis of separate and bilingual schools in the several provinces from Quebec to the Rockies. The procession of legal decisions and constitutional arguments is interspersed with shrewd observations, on events rather than actors, by one in whose mind liberal inclinations jostle with keenness for an efficient state system.

As to philosophic approach and historical completeness the book leaves something to be desired. It is manifest that Mr. Weir approaches the problem from a point of view suggested by his experience in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. It would have been interesting, and I think, useful if starting from Quebec and Ontario, and analysing the development of absolute denominationalism in the one province, and the compromise worked out in the other—if taking this diverse experience of the two older provinces, he had then sought to follow the battle back and forth as one or the other idea prevailed for the moment in each of the Prairie Provinces. Then his work might have assumed the form of an epic on education, with greater continuity and a deeper appeal.

The Maritimes are entirely overlooked, yet in Halifax and among the Acadian French have occurred interesting incidents in connection with religion and language in the schools. Nova Scotia would seem to offer a good illustration of what is achieved and what neglected in the absence of elaborate laws and regulations.

The two chapters on Manitoba give an adequate summary of the stormy history of school legislation in that province. Some reference might have been included to that remarkable series of sixty-five articles in the *Manitoba free press* by Mr. A. V. Thomas, which are a mine of interesting and exact information of the deplorable conditions existing in 1913 directly as a result of the dispute between church and state over the possession of the child. The three chapters on Saskatchewan and Alberta make clear the fact, if they do not fully explore the reasons for it, "that in actual operation since 1913 the school system of Alberta has in comparison with that of Saskatchewan been singularly free from sectarian and political strife".

The chapters on Ontario are less complete. There is no attempt to tell the splendid story of the origin of common schools in Upper Canada: how with spontaneous zeal the settlers entrusted to three of their number the right of taxation for free schools long before any such thing was attempted in the old land; how in 1841, as Hodgins points out, when the solicitor-general had proposed a tidy system suited to all creeds, petitions kept pouring in, chiefly from the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church, demanding the use of the Bible in all schools and thereby driving the Roman Catholics into separatism; and how, finally, the permanent basis of settlement was worked out during the early 'sixties

in the play of the powerful minds of Ryerson, Brown, and Macdonald, the two former in incessant feud and the two latter reconciled only for one great occasion.

The chapter on language issues in Ontario begins with 1912 and regulation 17. It was in 1851, however, that the issue was first raised by seventeen ratepayers of school section 6 in the Township of Sandwich in their protest against their new teacher, M. Gigon. And by 1910 no less than three different commissions had been appointed to investigate the subject. Some readers will be disturbed by references to the Merchant report when they realize that Mr. Weir is referring to the report of 1930 and not to the famous report published at last on February 8, 1912, almost two years after Bishop Fallon had rekindled the heather. Nor can those who are familiar with the two regulations of 1912 and 1913 accept the statement that "No attempt has been made in Ontario to deprive French-speaking pupils of their mother tongue". They remember too well the word "hitherto" in the regulations, and such statements as those made by a politician who was afterwards given a portfolio by Mr. Ferguson: "I want to tell you good people that English is good enough for me. It is good enough for the Dominion of Canada. As long as I have anything to say in the Legislature, I will fight for English and English alone." Herein Lord Durham, being dead, yet spoke.

Chapters follow on the school situation in Quebec, biblical instruction, and incidental problems. Mr. Weir is to be congratulated not only on his informative book, but also on the fact that secure behind the ramparts of the Rockies in a province committed to state-ism in education, and now in business, he can serenely contemplate those who are still wrestling with the problems created when the church in the name of the parent demands a right to have some measure of control over the education of the child. It is a hopeful sign in education when a busy man like Mr. Weir can turn aside from pressing duties to prepare so useful a work.

C. B. Sissons

The Indians of Canada. By DIAMOND JENNESS. (Canada: Department of Mines: National Museum of Canada: Bulletin 65.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1932. Pp. x, 446; 123 illustrations, 9 text maps, 1 separate map.

In the last twenty years the National Museum of Canada has published numerous monographs and papers by members of its anthropological division upon specific aspects of native life in different parts of Canada. This volume is a handbook upon the Indians as a whole, scientific and authoritative, yet written in a manner intelligible to the general reader. There exist detailed reports on individual tribes, or groups of tribes, and there are a number of general accounts of the Indians of North America, but this is the first comprehensive description of the Canadian aborigines.¹ The intelligent white man has considerable interest in the Indians, but his knowledge is of the scantiest; this volume meets his requirements and should have a wide circulation in high schools and universities, as well as

¹The *Handbook of the Indians of Canada*, extracted from Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, is a series of encyclopaedic articles, valuable for reference purposes but giving no general picture of the Indians.

in private and public libraries. The first chapters deal with general elements of culture such as clothing, habitations, trade, transportation, means of sustenance, social life, folk-lore, language, and a section devoted to the history and place of the Indians and Eskimo among the races of mankind. The second half of the book contains a brief account of the culture and history of each of the Canadian "tribes", dividing them into seven main groups in accord with similarities in their mode of life, and corresponding to a considerable extent with physiographical conditions. This arrangement reduces repetition to a minimum and the points are well illustrated with a large and wise selection of photographs.

In view of the author's reputation both as a scientist and a writer, the reader has reason to expect an outstanding volume, and he will not be disappointed. No one knows better than the reviewer how difficult it is to paint the life of the Indians in proper perspective, without falling into the error either of too many generalizations or of too great detail. A semi-popular book of this magnitude is difficult to write, and Mr. Jenness has done his work extremely well. None the less, one could wish for different treatment in various places. In a previous work, *The people of the twilight* (New York, 1928), the author succeeded in giving a most sympathetic and vivid portrayal of the Eskimo among whom he had lived; to do the same in this volume would have been more difficult, but one feels that Mr. Jenness has deliberately suppressed the human element in his descriptions, and that its occasional appearance is almost surreptitious. And yet anthropology, the study of mankind, should be human, and one ought to be able to see the individual tribesmen through a catalogue of their manners and customs. The author has wisely avoided any undue praise of the Indian, but I think he underestimates both the intrinsic value and the interest to the white man of Plain's geometric designs (p. 209), of North-west coast art (p. 211), or of native folk-lore in general (p. 195). And it gives a false impression of European expansion in North America to say that the fur-traders gladly supported prohibition (p. 254), or that Europeans put an end to native warfare (p. 259). This last statement is correct, of course, as far as hostilities between the present-day Indians are concerned, but it overlooks the widespread encouragement of their native allies by all nations during the colonial period, or even of the participation by many Indians in the Great War of 1914-8.

By the purely scientific point of view, Mr. Jenness has set a high standard both in the judicious selection of his material and in his wide use of historical sources which enabled him to compile a map of outstanding importance showing tribal distributions at the time of white contact. The author's historical references are well annotated, but this is not always true for his modern authorities. It may be assumed that much of the information on the Sekanni (p. 377ff.) is derived from his own unpublished notes, and the section on the Kwakiutl (p. 342ff.) is clearly compiled from Boas, but neither fact is made clear. And in his handling of certain subjects Mr. Jenness has a fondness for catch-words such as "out-right purchase" (of wives) (p. 155), and "monotheism" (p. 171) to describe concepts of greater complexity than the terms indicate. This is

also true in his treatment of diffusion (e.g. p. 366). Finally, a word must be said about the format of the book itself. The printing is good and the illustrations are well reproduced, but the paper is thick and the book heavy and cumbersome, serious defects in a work worthy of wide distribution. It is questionable, too, whether a government publication is the best medium for circulation; scientists look to such sources for their material, but does the reading public for handbooks? *The Indians of Canada* redounds to the credit of the author and of the National Museum, but whether it will obtain the circulation it deserves remains a moot point.

T. F. McILWRAITH

The Land of Feast and Famine. By HELGE INGSTED. New York: A. A. Knopf. 1933. Pp. 332.

Sourdough Gold: The Log of a Yukon Adventure. By MARY LEE DAVIS. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company. 1933. Pp. 351.

The Land that God Gave Cain: An Account of H. G. Watkins' Expedition to Labrador 1928-29. By J. M. SCOTT. London: Chatto and Windus. 1933. Pp. vii, 282.

True North. By ELLIOTT MERRICK. New York: Charles Scribners Sons. 1933. Pp. 353.

Kabluk of the Eskimo. By LOWELL THOMAS. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1932. Pp. 276.

The Wooden Walls among the Ice Floes Telling the Romance of the Newfoundland Scal Fishery. By Major WILLIAM HOWE GREENE. London: Hutchinson and Company. 1933. Pp. xix, 298.

The Romance of Labrador. By Sir WILFRED GRENFELL. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xiv, 329.

THE first volume is a valuable account of a trip from Edmonton to Waterways, Chipewyan, Resolution, and Snowdrift at the end of Slave Lake. It continues with a description of trips to various regions along the edge of the tree line and the barren lands and contains valuable information on trappers, Indians, dogs, caribou, and wild game, generally. There is scarcely an item concerning this region which is not illuminated by comments of the author, and anthropologists, students of natural history, and those generally interested in the Canadian north will find valuable material. Unfortunately, references to dates and places are inadequate but from internal evidence it appears that the author went into the country in 1927 and came out in 1931.

Sourdough gold is an expansion of a journal by the author of the journal and the author of the book. The author of the journal is a doctor who went over the Chilkoot Pass in 1898, accompanied the rush down to the mouth of the Stewart River, prospected without success on the Stewart, and then proceeded to Dawson where he wintered in 1898-9 and went alone by boat to the mouth of the Yukon in 1899. The book throws valuable light on the epidemics in Dawson, on the avalanche of April 3, 1898, on the Chilkoot Pass, on social conditions, and particularly on the relations between Canadians and Americans. Both this volume and Mr. Ingsted's have excellent photographs and maps.

The book by Mr. Scott is dedicated to the memory of the leader of the expedition and provides an excellent description of his personality as revealed in the arduous work of exploration in Labrador. After an unsuccessful start up the Hamilton River in the late summer of 1928, the expedition returned to North-west River. It proceeded from there to make the difficult round trip up the Kenamu River and down the Traverspine and Hamilton Rivers. Before freeze-up the members of the expedition completed a plane table survey of Grand Lake. During the winter they travelled by dogs from the junction of the Red River and the Naskaupi River to Lake Nipishish, Lake Snegamook, and across to Hopedale on the Atlantic, and returned. In early February they started up the Hamilton River and circled to the south of Unknown River and visited the falls on its upper reaches. After the return they travelled to Cartwright and down the Labrador coast to Battle River and Forteau. The book includes incidental accounts of the people and is illustrated with photographs and maps. The appendix contains valuable notes on the technique of travel in the region. The volume describes work involving amazing energy and determination.

In 1930-1, two years after the expedition under Watkins, the author of *True north* and his wife went up the Grand River with trappers to a point opposite the foot of Lobstick Lake. From this point the author went south to Unknown Lake and returned, and again from a point lower down crossed to the same lake and to the vicinity of the falls on the Unknown River and returned. Late in December the party started down with the trappers, visiting Grand Falls on the way. In the spring Merrick returned to the Lake Winnikapau region for the short trapping season. The book is primarily valuable as a first-hand detailed account of trapping in this region. It is an excellent account of the lives of trappers from the region about the head of Lake Melville. Illustrations and end maps enhance the value of the account.

The work by Mr. Thomas is a biographical account of the period spent by Louis Romanet of Revillon Frères in the Ungava district based largely on an autobiographical manuscript. Mr. Romanet entered the service of the company as an apprentice, and was sent in 1903 by the *Stord* to a post on the Koksoak River. In 1906(?) he came out to Montreal and was sent to Missinabi and Moose Factory to salvage cargo from the wreck of the *El Dorado* on Loon Island. In the following year he returned to the post of the Koksoak River as manager. In the winter of 1910-1(?) he made a trip across Labrador to Rupert's House and Moose Factory and Montreal and back to Ungava by steamer. He received the first news of war in 1915 and in 1916 left to join the French army. He returned to the Koksoak post apparently in 1919 or 1920 and a year later joined the Hudson's Bay Company at which date the account ends. The volume is illustrated with numerous photographs, many by the courtesy of the National Museum, and contains a great deal of material on the Eskimo of the Ungava district. It is a pity the routes are not clearly stated, that the volume is not accompanied by a map, and that the dates are not given distinctly. It appears to be a valuable account sacrificed on the altar of romance.

The volume by Major Greene is concerned chiefly with the period in which the seal-fishery was dominated by wooden steamships from 1863 to the early part of the century. In 1906 the first steel ship was introduced. It contains a valuable account of conditions under which the ice-floe is formed, of the men and officers, and of the seals and their habits. The main portion of the book is concerned with an imaginary trip into the sealing grounds, obviously based on actual experience and giving a wealth of detail and amply illustrated by photographs. A glossary and a chronological list of ships in the steam sealing fleets are included.

As suggested by the title and the chapter headings, Sir Wilfred Grenfell has attempted to provide a readable handbook on Labrador for popular consumption. Under the heading of pageants, the chapters deal with geology, aborigines (Indian and Eskimo), the Vikings, early exploration, French and English occupation, the Moravians, animal and plant life, and finally the Grenfell mission. The general reader will find it a useful introduction to Labrador, but the student will find a few inaccuracies and is advised to pursue his interests in earlier works such as W. G. Gosling, *Labrador* (Toronto, n.d.), and W. T. Grenfell and others, *Labrador, the country and the people* (New York, 1909). On the other hand, the long acquaintance of the author with the coast-line makes his comments on exploration, geography, and settlement of very great value to the specialist.

H. A. INNIS

The Canadian Atlantic Fishery. By RUTH FULTON GRANT. With an editorial preface by H. A. Innis. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. Pp. xxiii, 147. (\$2.50)

THIS book, published as one of a series on the staple industries of Canada, deals with the history of the Atlantic fishing industry as a prologue to its present problems. In order to outline these problems and to suggest possible remedies, it was necessary for the author to delve back to the beginnings of the fishery on Canada's Atlantic coast and to portray the growth and trends of the industry throughout the years. Mrs. Grant's research has been augmented by the excellent historical preface by Professor H. A. Innis and the two combined serve to present a brief yet comprehensive record of Canada's eastern fishery and the various treaties, tariffs, and economic changes affecting it.

The important Grand Banks fishery of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, it is noted, did not commence until after 1850. At that date there were scarcely ten fishing vessels sailing out of the port and these did not average over 45 tons register each. These small craft fished on the Labrador coast each summer. It was the success of the schooner *Dielytris*, 58 tons, Captain Benjamin Anderson, on a Grand Banks fishing trip in 1873 that inspired the development of the fishery out of Lunenburg—a development which resulted in the employment in later years of a splendid fleet of large fishing schooners providing a good livelihood for over two thousand fishermen of the county.

In tracing the various causes responsible for prosperity or depression in the fisheries of the area dealt with, the author goes far afield, showing the influence of political and commercial conditions in the United States

and the West Indies. As the bulk of the fish produced by Canadian Atlantic fishermen found their markets in these countries, this influence was far-reaching. The development of the fresh fish trade in the domestic market of late years has alleviated this dependence to some degree but it is still a determining factor.

Ruth Fulton Grant is a native of Nova Scotia and a graduate of Dalhousie University. Her book deserves the careful perusal of all those interested in the history and problems of the fishery of the Maritime Provinces, and her suggestions for improvement and future development, as far as they go, warrant sympathetic consideration.

F. W. WALLACE

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1933. Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. 1934. Pp. 660.

THAT the *Canadian annual review* has reached its thirty-second year of issue, and has survived the worst of the depression, is a matter for congratulation. As a survey of the current political and economic history of Canada, it is invaluable. The present volume, it is true, is somewhat smaller than its predecessors, and some features which marked the earlier volumes are missing from this. The section on "The churches in Canada" has been omitted, "owing to the difficulty in obtaining official information each year from one or two of the churches"; and one notes the absence from the section entitled "Canadian books of 1932" of any list of French-Canadian books—a most regrettable omission. But, apart from these omissions, the *Canadian annual review* provides a survey of Canadian affairs no less useful, though somewhat more compact, than is to be found in previous volumes. The non-partisan character of the *Review* is admirably maintained; and the index is as full and satisfactory as ever.

W. S. WALLACE

ERRATUM

For Tyler Bennett in the issue of June, 1934, page 207, read Tyler Dennett.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

It is interesting to note that sixty years ago this summer the first detachment of the Royal North West Mounted Police which was sent to the west made its way through the United States on its journey from Toronto to the Red River valley. Permission had been obtained from the government of the United States for the passage of this semi-military force through that country, and on Saturday, June 6, 1874, 16 officers, 201 men, 244 horses, and 36 four-horse waggons left Toronto by rail. Travelling by two special trains of twenty cars each, the force arrived in Chicago on June 8, and after a short rest moved on to St. Paul, where it remained for some thirty-six hours. The Americans were greatly interested and favourably impressed by the excellent behaviour of the men, but the articles which appeared in the St. Paul *Daily pioneer* at the time of the visit reflected the current uncertainty as to the precise nature of the force. On June 9 the paper called it "British Cavalry"; on June 10 this was revised to "Mounted Police"; and on June 11 to "The North-west Mounted Police".

On June 11, the detachment entrained for Fargo, Dakota Territory, the point at which the Northern Pacific Railroad crosses the Red River. Here it was ordered to leave the railroad, and proceed in mounted formation down the Red River valley to Dufferin, Manitoba. This place, now the approximate site of Emerson, was just north of the international boundary line. It had some significance as the field headquarters for the North-west Boundary Survey, then in progress. From Dufferin most of the men were to go to Fort Ellice on the Saskatchewan River, some three hundred miles to the west. Here a permanent station for the Mounted Police was to be organized. These plans were carried out. Arriving in Fargo on June 12, the troops dexterously unpacked their equipment and speedily assembled it. Early on Saturday morning, June 13, in disciplined array the men rode north towards Canadian soil again. The two hundred uniformed troopers, mounted on fine horses and followed by an impressive supply-train must have provided a fine spectacle. Vivid correspondent's sketches of this martial display may be found in the *Canadian illustrated news* for July 25 and August 15, 1874. (DUANE SQUIRES.)

We are indebted to M. Edmond Buron of Paris for the following information.

The first *Congrès d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France* was held on May 22-4 at the Institut Catholique of Paris. M. Claude de Bonnault presented a study on "Religious life in rural Canadian parishes in the eighteenth century". This excellent survey based on an extensive examination of archival and other sources, was organized under four heads: parish organization, the church and culture, religious life, and moral life. The regulations controlling appointments to parishes, the revenues of the clergy, church property, education, religious customs both in the home

and in the church, the general trends of moral and social conditions, were among the topics treated. Reference was made to the unusual Jansenist manifestations between 1714 and 1718. M. Bonnault also noted that of the 162 ecclesiastics in 1760 only 51 were born in Canada. There were also presented at the conference several other similar studies of various French provinces, which provide the basis of interesting and valuable comparisons.

Canada's four hundredth anniversary was fittingly commemorated by a meeting on May 30, in the great amphitheatre of the Sorbonne under the auspices of the *Renaissance française*. Arrangements were made by Rear-admiral Loizeau; M. J. Charles Brun of the *Fédération régionaliste française* presided; the Hon. Philippe Roy granted his patronage and four ministers of the French government attended. Several groups from various provinces in their regional costumes provided a programme of folk-songs. M. Jean Désy in a brilliant address reviewed the careers of some of the great figures of French Canada, and a number of other addresses were given by regional representatives of the *Fédération* in which were recalled the historical associations of New France with various parts of the mother land. A part of the audience, evidently people who were not at home in the Sorbonne and were interested only in the later programme of costume and song, showed some impatience with the orators and panegyrists. Thoughtful minds must admit with some regret that the English of the Middle Ages spoke with comprehension when they said, "That which the eye seeth not, the heart doth not rue."

As the restoration of the name Toronto is now being celebrated, it may be worth while to mention an earlier attempt in the same direction. Angus Macdonell was one of the well-known family of that name who left the United States after the acknowledgement of independence, and settled in Glengarry. A kinsman, John Macdonell, member for Glengarry, was elected speaker of the first assembly of Upper Canada in 1792, and Angus was appointed clerk at the munificent salary of £91 5 Halifax currency (\$365) per annum. He received a licence to practise law from Governor Simcoe under the act of 1794, which was passed because it was feared that on the establishment of the Court of King's Bench in that year, "much inconvenience may ensue from the want of persons duly authorized to practise the profession of law in this Province"—one of the two occasions when there were considered to be too few lawyers in the province. He later aided in founding the Law Society of Upper Canada in 1797. He was elected for York to the assembly in 1801 and proved to be a very active member. On February 11, 1804, he moved, seconded by his kinsman, Mr. Sheriff Macdonell, for leave to bring in a bill to restore "the name of Toronto to the Town, Township, and County, lately changed into that of York". This was defeated but, on February 16, he petitioned for leave to bring in such a bill—"the name Toronto, by which the Town, Township, and County (now called York) were formerly distinguished, being more familiar and agreeable to the inhabitants of the said Town, Township, and County than that of York". Other and more important matters occupied his attention, and he did not take

advantage of the leave to bring in the bill. Later he was re-elected to the assembly but did not take his seat. He had been retained to defend Ogetoncut, an Indian murderer, who was to be tried at the then Newcastle on Presqu'Île Point. He had, together with the judge, Mr. Justice Cochran, the crown prosecutor, the solicitor-general, Robert Isaac Dey Gray, the prisoner, the chief constable of York, some of the witnesses, and others, sailed for Presqu'Île on the provincial schooner *Speedy*: all were lost—*Spurlos versenkt*—no one knows to this day, how or where.

It will be remembered that it was Simcoe who gave the name York on August 26, 1793, on hearing of the success in the Low Countries of King George's eldest son, the Duke of York. He ordered a royal salute of twenty-one guns to his royal highness and in commemoration of the naming of the harbour from the English title, York. Simcoe, as is well known, had almost a craze to give every place an English name. (WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL.)

The latest report of the William Clements Library at the University of Michigan makes note of a number of acquisitions which are of interest to the students of Canadian history. Of special importance is the acquisition of the papers of David Hartley who took part in the negotiation of the treaty of 1783 with the United States. These form a valuable addition to the *Shelburne papers* which were acquired some years ago.

We regret to learn of the death of Mr. John Hosie, on August 8, at Victoria. Mr. Hosie was provincial librarian and archivist of British Columbia and had done much to build up the records of the province.

An item of interest to readers of the REVIEW is the appointment of Professor D. McArthur of Queen's University as deputy minister of education for Ontario.

The contributors to this issue of the REVIEW are: Dr. W. D. Overman, curator of history of the Ohio State Museum in Columbus; Mr. Gordon O. Rothney of London, England; Mr. D. C. Masters of New College, Oxford; and Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, head of the Department of Law in the University of Toronto.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The *Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver*. In June the president and secretary of the association visited the Columbia River Archaeological Society of Washington, and it is hoped that this meeting will lead to a lasting link between the two societies which are both so keenly interested in the anthropology and archaeology of north-west America. To create interest in the preservation of early Indian relics and art, Professor Charles Hill-Tout, the president of the association, gave two public addresses which attracted very large audiences. It is

probably partly due to this publicity, and to the fifteen-minute broadcasts about the museum, which were given in the spring by members of the association, that the attendance at the museum has increased noticeably. Among some of the interesting recent additions to the museum, we note a collection of relics of the Great War which makes a valuable addition to the section on the Canadian Legion.

The *British Columbia Historical Association* held its annual general meeting on October 20, 1933, at the Provincial Library, Victoria. Major F. V. Longstaff was elected president and Mr. Harold T. Nation (2380 Windsor Road, Victoria) secretary. Five meetings were held during the year at which papers were read by: Mr. V. L. Denton on "Early Vancouver Island" (dealing with the earliest records of the arrival of ships in the Pacific, especially in the north-east corner); Mr. W. A. Newcombe on "History of the British Columbia Indians" (tracing the history of the arrival of the original Indian tribes); Captain Walter on "Naval experiences on the north Pacific Station"; Miss Madge Wolfenden on "Richard Wolfenden, first king's printer in British Columbia"; Mr. C. C. Pember-ton on "The Fairfield estate" (Victoria); Professor Farr on "Written constitutions, dominion and provincial". On March 12 the association held its annual dinner in commemoration of the arrival of Governor Richard Blanshard at Victoria, and on June 9, the association joined the Saanich Pioneer Society in a field meeting at Saanichton.

The *Canadian Catholic Historical Association* held its first annual meeting at the Château Laurier, Ottawa, on May 29 and 30, 1934. The following papers were read: "Dante, the poet of the liturgy", Miss Mary Manley; "The Utopia of Blessed Thomas More", the Rev. John B. O'Reilly; "L'une des sources de l'apostolat canadien-français", Canon Émile Chartier; "Father John McKenna, Loyalist chaplain", the Rev. Edward Kelly; "La mission de John Carroll au Canada en 1776 et l'interdit du P. Floquet", the Rev. Thomas M. Charland; "The Hon. James Baby, Loyalist, first Catholic member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada", the Rev. Brother Alfred; "Liberté des cultes au Canada", Jean François Pouliot, M.P.; "Contemporary recovery policies against the historical background of Catholic economic and social theory", John J. Connolly. On May 29 there was a luncheon conference, under the chairmanship of the Very Rev. W. H. Hingston, S.J., on "The teaching of history in Catholic colleges and seminaries", and on the 30th a similar conference on "The work of the association's committee on archives" at which the Rev. Dr. H. J. Somers, of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S., presided in the unavoidable absence of Dr. Pierre Georges Roy. On the evening of the first day the Hon. C. H. Cahan, the secretary of state of Canada, and Mrs. Cahan gave a reception for the members at the Public Archives, at which the apostolic delegate to Canada and Newfoundland, the Most Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D.D., gave a short address. At the banquet on the evening of May 30 the presidential address was delivered by the Hon. F. R. Latchford. Other speakers were the Hon. C. H. Cahan, representing the prime minister; Mgr J. Charbonneau, representing the archbishop of Ottawa; the Very Rev. G. Marchand, rector of the University of Ottawa; the Rev. Olivier Maurault, superior of the Exter-

nat Classique de St. Sulpice, Montreal; the Rev. H. J. Somers; and Mr. P. J. Nolan, mayor of Ottawa.

The most noteworthy event of the business sessions was the organizing of the association into two sections, English and French. The following officers were elected: honorary president, His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve, archbishop of Quebec; president general, the Hon. F. R. Latchford, chief justice in appeal of the Supreme Court of Ontario; first vice-president general and president of the French section, the Rev. Olivier Maurault; second vice-president general and president of the English section, the Rev. Edward Kelly, Toronto. The officers of the English section are: first vice-president, the Rev. John B. O'Reilly, St. Augustine's Seminary, Toronto; second vice-president, Dr. A. G. Doughty, Ottawa; secretary, Dr. James F. Kenney, Ottawa; treasurer, Miss Florence Boland, Toronto; councillors, the Rev. Hugh J. Somers, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S.; the Hon. J. A. Chisholm, chief justice of Nova Scotia, Halifax; the Rev. John R. O'Gorman, Timmins, Ont.; the Rev. Brother Alfred, principal of De La Salle "Oaklands", Toronto; Professor D. J. McDougall, University of Toronto; the Rev. J. H. Pocock, St. Peter's Seminary, London; J. J. Leddy, Saskatoon, Sask.; the Rev. Brother Memoriam, rector of St. Joseph's College, Edmonton. Officers of the French section are: first vice-president, Dr. Pierre Georges Roy, provincial archivist, Quebec; second vice-president, the Rev. Lionel Groulx, University of Montreal; secretary, the Rev. Ivanhoë Caron, assistant archivist of the Province of Quebec; treasurer, the Rev. Edgar Thivierge, University of Ottawa; councillors, the Rev. Victor Tremblay, The Seminary, Chicoutimi; the Rev. Pascal Potvin, Ste. Anne de la Pocatière; the Rev. Napoléon Morissette, The Seminary, Quebec; the Rev. Georges Robitaille, St. Alexis de Montcalm; Victor Morin, Montreal; the Rev. Alphonse Gauthier, Bourget College, Rigaud; the Rev. Thomas M. Charland, Ottawa; Dr. Gustave Lanctot, Ottawa.

The *Canadian Military Institute*, Toronto, has published no. 29 of its *Selected papers*, which is noted in our list of recent publications. The library of the institute has over 10,000 volumes and is now recognized as the outstanding special library of its class in Canada; it is available for any persons interested in military, historical, or patriotic research. The museum contains many valuable and interesting curios. At the recent restoration of Fort York the committee of restoration was largely composed of members of the institute. President, Lieutenant-Colonel Jabez H. Elliott; secretary-treasurer, Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. Rooney; address, 426 University Avenue, Toronto.

The *Canadian Political Science Association* has just published the *Papers and proceedings* of its sixth annual meeting. The papers which relate to Canadian history are listed in our bibliography of recent publications.

The *Champlain Society* has recently published the *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*, edited by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell. President, H. H. Langton; treasurer, George H. Locke; secretaries, Harold Walker, W. Stewart Wallace; permanent address, The Library, University of Toronto.

The *Elgin Historical Society* held a perambulatory meeting on Mon-

day, August 27, visits being paid to notable old houses in the eastern part of the county and tea, accompanied by speeches, being served at Aylmer. Of houses such as those visited lantern slides have been made, it being in contemplation to secure a similar collection for west Elgin. To replace the faulty tablet at Burwell's Corners, a new one with correct information is being erected and additional markers for historic spots on the various highways are being set up. Miss Ella N. Lewis of St. Thomas, Ontario, the secretary of the society, has recently erected a tablet to mark the grave in the Quaker burial ground on the Union-Sparta road, of Joshua G. Doan, rebel and patriot of 1837.

The *Grand Manan Historical Society*, of Grand Manan Island, N.B., was organized in 1931 by Mr. Buchanan Charles, of Brookline, Mass. (465 Washington Street), who is the president, and editor of the *Grand Manan historian*. Under the auspices of the society, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settling of Grand Manan Island was observed this year, one feature of the celebration being the publication of the first issue of the *Grand Manan historian*. The first numbers of the *Historian*, and the articles printed therein, are noted in our list of recent publications relating to Canada. Secretary-treasurer, Mrs. R. A. Ferguson, North Head, N.B.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* held its third quarterly meeting in the Memorial Town Hall on Monday evening, August 6. There was an attendance of about 70 and the subject dealt with at the meeting was "The United Empire Loyalists". There were two papers read. One dealt with the subject from a general standpoint and was given by Mrs. A. E. Vesey, of St. Stephen, N.B.; the other from a local standpoint, and was given by the Rev. A. W. L. Smith, of Clementsport. There were Loyalist exhibits pertaining to Loyalist families that had settled in Annapolis Royal and its vicinity. Among them was the Letter-book of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, a United Empire Loyalist, who was rector of St. Luke's Church from 1782-1808. A guest at the meeting was Mr. Edward Winslow, of Montreal, who, a few years ago, placed the well-known *Winslow (Loyalist) papers* in the New Brunswick Museum. (The writer of the *Winslow papers* lived for a short time in the vicinity of Annapolis Royal.) (H. LAURA HARDY.)

Huron Institute, Collingwood, Ontario. During the past year, 1933-4, the work of the institute has been confined to the museum. Many exhibits have been added, all of value in recording the story of Collingwood and its vicinity. Cataloguing of the exhibits continues with the hope that, in the near future, a catalogue may be printed. Upwards of 2,500 of the pictures have been tabulated and brief descriptive accounts prepared. Outside of these, there are hundreds of valuable documents, pamphlets, etc., yet to be given attention. As in preceding years, many visitors registered. Amongst others were Willoughby P. Cole, Esq., of Southampton, England, great-grandson of Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe, first governor of Upper Canada, and his daughter, Miss Dorothea Cole. To the donors of exhibits, to the press for general publicity, and to the public generally, thanks are expressed for interest and assistance during the year. (DAVID WILLIAMS.)

The *Niagara Historical Society* made its annual picnic in July the occasion for celebrating the sesqui-centenary of the Loyalists and for unveiling and dedicating certain tablets and cairns provided by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, which was represented by its chairman, Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank.

The *Ontario Historical Society* held its annual meeting in Kingston as the most suitable place for commemorating the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Loyalist settlements of the province. With this subject dealt the greater part of the papers read, exceptions being two on "The defences of Kingston", "Irish John Wilson and his descendants", "New light from Huronia", "Early history of the Peterborough settlement", and "Just maps".

Combined with the meeting were motor trips to Bath and Gananoque, tea at the Murney Tower, which houses the Kingston Society's historical collection, and unveiling a tablet at Tête de Pont Barracks in commemoration of the Crawford purchase of lands for the Loyalists in 1783. At this ceremony Sir Archibald Macdonell officiated; the Very Rev. Dean Craig offered the prayers; and Brigadier-General Cruikshank delivered the principal address. At Gananoque the principal address was delivered by the president of the local society, Mr. Andrew Edwards.

The *Oxford Historical Society* held its annual meeting on May 4 and Mr. C. E. Hendershot gave a very interesting historical review of the congregation which now composes Central United Church, Woodstock. President, A. H. Wilson; secretary-treasurer, W. E. Elliott; librarian, A. E. Roth; curator of museum, Miss Louise Hill; permanent address, the Court House, Woodstock, Ontario.

Prince Edward Historical Society. Mr. Fred Newman, the president of the society, recently offered three generous prizes for the best essays concerning the history of each township or municipality in Prince Edward County, the object of the competition being to collect unpublished information on the history of the early settlers of the county. The essays are being published in the *Picton Gazette*.

The *Ship Lovers' Association of Victoria* (called "The Ship's Company of the Thermopylae") is in its second year and its monthly meetings are interesting and well attended. The association is collecting and recording much first-hand historical data about the grain and lumber sailing ships of the 70's, 80's, and 90's, and Major F. V. Longstaff of the association (Seabank, 50, Highland Drive, Victoria, B.C.), would be very glad to give assistance to any students desiring information about royal naval or merchant navy ships or officers which have been on the coast of British Columbia since 1840. A successful maritime loan exhibition of ship models and pictures was held by the association on April 4, 5, 6, and 7, 1934, and an extraordinarily large number of fascinating exhibits was collected, including rigged models of early ships, recent merchant ships, old and recent sailing ships of war, and many interesting paintings and engravings of old ships.

The *Simcoe Historical Society* held a special meeting in honour of Willoughby P. Cole, Esq., and Miss Dorothea Cole, descendant of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, 1792-1799, who had come to Toronto as the

city's guests for its centennial celebrations. At a later date Mr. Cole was made a chief by the Six Nations Indians at the Grand River.

The *Similkameen Historical Association* held its quarterly meeting on Friday, April 27, when addresses were given by Miss Jessie Ewart ("Leaves from an old diary", the diary being that of Ed. Hughes, telling of travels in British Columbia in 1884); and Mr. S. R. Gibson, who recounted the early history of the Chilliwack valley. An old stage coach of local historical interest has become the property of the association. Preparations are being made for the society's annual banquet. (JOHN C. GOODFELLOW.)

La Société Historique des Cantons de l'Est held monthly meetings during the last year at which papers were given on subjects of local historical interest: "Le vieux Sherbrooke" by M. l'avocat J. P. Wells; "Le combat des Grandes-Fourches" by the Abbé Albert Gravel; "Cent ans devant le Clavier" (a history of music and musicians of Sherbrooke) by Professor Oscar Cartier; "Dans l'bon vieux temps" by M. l'avocat Firmin Campbell; "Idiomes et expressions caractéristiques de nos familles, selon leur canton d'origine" by M. L. A. Desnoyers; "Le Progrès" by M. le Curé Irénée Lavallée; "Le Père Drouillettes et la Rivière Chaudière" by the Abbé Albert Gravel; "Feu M. le Curé Jean-Baptiste Chartier" by M. le Notaire Pierre Edmond Durocher; "Précis de l'histoire de la ville de Coaticook" by M. l'avocat Roger Bouchard. During the course of the year the society received a number of interesting contributions to its historical collection, one of the most valuable gifts being a topographical map of Canada by Joseph Bouchette, donated by M. G. E. Gagnon. The society has a membership of 56; president, M. le Docteur Valmore Olivier; secretary, the Abbé Maurice O'Bready; archivist, the Abbé Michel Couture; archives at the Séminaire St Charles, Sherbrooke, P.Q.

La Société Historique d'Ottawa held three meetings, in the hall of the Normal School, Ottawa. The first was devoted to a lecture by M. Roger St. Denis on "Du Lhut (Duluth), diplomate et coureur de bois"; the second to an address by the Rev. Thomas Charland on "La technique en histoire"; and in June, Major Gustave Lanctot closed the year with a lecture on Jacques Cartier, explorer and navigator.

The *Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Historical Society* interested itself in the recent celebrations in Cornwall: the centennial celebration of its incorporation as a town and the sesqui-centennial celebration of its settlement by the United Empire Loyalists. The International Railway Bridge was formally opened by the governor-general and there was unveiled a bronze tablet to the United Empire Loyalists, erected on the south wall of the Post Office Building by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

Air power and imperial defence (Round table, June, 1934, 490-503). An examination of the technique of modern war and the problems that it raises with regard to the defence of the British Commonwealth.

ALTHAM, E. *Sea, air, and empire* (Quarterly review, July, 1934, 1-15). A stock-taking of the weaknesses of the British navy and aircraft and an attempt to gauge their relative importance and urgency.

BAILEY, K. H. *Australia and the Statute of Westminster* (Australian Rhodes review, March, 1934, 120-7).

DENCE, E. M. *Empire materials for public contracts: A challenge to Sir William Beveridge* (United empire, XXV (5), May, 1934, 280-3). An address which stresses a special phase of empire trade.

FAYLE, C. E. *Economic aspects of empire defence* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, May, 1934).

FOX, RALPH. *The colonial policy of British imperialism*. New York: International Publishers. 1933. Pp. 122. (75 cents)

HIRST, W. A. *Empire trade v. foreign trade* (Empire review, no. 402, July, 1934, 19-24). A brief sketch of past and present imperial trade policy.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Toronto* (continued) (South African law times, III (1), Jan., 1934, 15-6). A report of the discussions.

LAWRENCE, O. L. and PALMER, G. E. H. (comps.) *The economic consequences of Ottawa in the Pacific dependencies*. Pp. 50 (mimeographed). Out of print. One of the documents presented to the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Banff in 1933, as a basis for the discussions.

LYONS, A. M. *Our empire: Drift or development* (National review, May, 1934, 641-7). A scheme for the peopling of the empire, and particularly of Canada, with British stock.

MACKENZIE, NORMAN. *Commonwealth or empire* (American journal of international law, XXVIII (3), July, 1934, 559-62). An attempt to list and define the principal groups, or combinations, that make up the empire and the commonwealth.

PALMER, GERALD E. H. (comp.) *Consultation and co-operation in the British Commonwealth: A handbook on the methods and practice of communication and consultation between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations*. With an introduction by Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH on the constitutional development of the British Empire in regard to the dominions and India from 1887 to 1933. Issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs on behalf of the First Unofficial Conference on British Commonwealth Relations. Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. lix, 264. (12s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

PORBUS, G. V. (ed.) *Studies in the Australian constitution*. Sydney. Angus and Robertson Limited in conjunction with the Australian Institute of Political Science. 1933. Pp. 233. (5s.) To be reviewed later.

- RIVETT, A. C. D. *The Empire Marketing Board: A tribute, a lament and a hope* (Australian Rhodes review, March, 1934, 10-9).
- SAGE, WALTER N. *The British Commonwealth and the collective system* (Pacific historical review, III (2), June, 1934, 156-63). A discussion of the collective system and its importance to the fate of the British Commonwealth.
- SALMON, EDWARD. *The empire press in conference: Twenty-five years in retrospect* (United empire, XXV (7), July, 1934, 396-401). A brief glance at the ideals and results of the first, and subsequent, Imperial Press Conferences.
- TOYNBEE, ARNOLD J. (ed.) *British Commonwealth relations: Proceedings of the first unofficial conference at Toronto, 11-21 September, 1933*. With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT L. BORDEN. London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xiv, 235. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.
- TROOP, W. H. *Canada and the empire since 1867* (Dalhousie review, XIV (2), July, 1934, 155-66). An analysis of the various factors which have influenced the growth of national feeling in Canada since Confederation.
- ZIMMERN, A. E. *Is there an empire foreign policy?* (International affairs, XIII (3), May-June, 1934, 303-24). A continuation of the discussion at the Toronto Conference on British Commonwealth Relations on the problem of an imperial foreign policy. Professor Zimmern takes the published records of the conference and submits them to a critical examination from an independent standpoint in the light of the discussions that took place.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- AUBERT DE LA RÛE, EDGAR. *Des îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon* (Bulletin de l'Association des géographes français, Paris, no. 66, fév., 1933, 41-2).
Un voyage à Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (Le monde colonial illustré, Paris, XI, 1933, 19-21).
- [CANADIAN MILITARY INSTITUTE, TORONTO.] *Selected papers from the transactions of the institute, 1931-32, together with reports and lists of members*. No. 29. Toronto: The Military Publishing Company, 52 McCaul Street. Pp. 117. The papers relating to Canada are listed separately in this bibliography.
- FIELD, P. J. *Canadian centenaries* (Empire review, no. 400, May, 1934, 286-7). A short note on the history of Toronto and Three Rivers.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *A year of celebrations* (South African law times, III (6), June, 1934, 117-8). Deals with some of the Canadian national commemorations of 1934, and the imprints which they have left on the life of Canada.
- [LEAGUE OF NATIONS: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.] *A record of a second study conference on the state and economic life held in London from May 29 to June 2, 1933, and organised by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in collaboration with the British Co-ordinating Committee for International Studies*. (League of Nations sixth international studies conference.) Paris: Edited and published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 2, rue de Montpensier, Palais Royal. 1934. Pp. xviii, 422. (15s.) To be reviewed later.
- LEMIEUX, Hon. RODOLPHE. *Le sens des fêtes du quatrième centenaire de Gaspé* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, IV (3), juillet-sept., 1934, 273-81). Reflections on the course of four centuries of Canadian history.
- PATON, J. L. *Newfoundland: Its plight and its pill* (Contemporary review, Jan., 1934, 56-63). A survey of the natural resources and financial problems of Newfoundland.
- *Newfoundland: Present and future* (International affairs, XIII (3), May-June, 1934, 394-409). Facts about living conditions in Newfoundland, the character of the Newfoundlander, the state of education, and the present emergency.

- PEARKES, Lt.-Col. G. R. *The evolution of the control of his majesty's Canadian forces* (Canadian Military Institute, Toronto, *Selected papers*, 1931-2, 40-53). An address before the institute tracing the various stages of control over the forces which have been employed from time to time in Canada, from the early days when those forces were composed almost entirely of British regulars with control vested in the crown in England, down to the present day.
- ROSS, COLLIN. *Zwischen USA und den Pol. Kanada, Neufundland, Labrador und die Arktis*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1934. Pp. 310; 1 map, 71 illustrations. (RM. 6) To be reviewed later.
- STIRLING, ALFRED. *Impressions of Canadian cities* (Empire review, no. 401, June, 1934, 356-60). Brief impressions of Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria.
- WRONG, GEORGE M. *Three great democracies—after many years* (New York history, XV (1), Jan., 1934, 27-30). An address delivered at the dedication of the Carillon Bridge Monument at Ticonderoga in 1933.
- (2) **New France**
- Acte de concession d'une terre du R.P. de Quen à Nicolas Patenostre (Patenaude)* (16 janvier 1652) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (6), juin, 1934, 366-8).
- Acte de mariage de Louis Lagueux (Chambly, 3 août 1820)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 460).
- Antoine Caddé* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 454-5). A biographical note on the steward who accompanied the intendant, Claude de Bouteroue, to Canada in 1668.
- BIRCH, JOHN J. *The cause of the Schenectady massacre* (Americana, XXVIII (2), 1934, 250-7). An account of factors directing the massacre and destruction of the village of Schenectady in the colony of New York on February 8, 1690, by French and Indians under Lieutenants Le Moyne de Saint Helène and Daillebout de Mantet.
- Commission de l'intendant Bouteroue à Philippe Gautier de Compoite pour faire la recette du dix pour cent (20 juillet 1670)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (5), mai, 1934, 302-3). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Contrat de mariage de Nicolas Patenostre (Patenaude) et de Marguerite Breton (25 octobre 1651)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (6), juin, 1934, 364-5).
- CUTTINS, ELISABETH. *Samuel de Champlain and his lake* (New York history, XV (2), April, 1934, 175-83). An estimate of Champlain as explorer, geographer, navigator, and historian, and a note on his impressions of Lake Champlain.
- DAVENPORT, FRANCES GARDINER (ed.) *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies*. Vol. III: 1698-1715. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, publication no. 254.) Washington, D.C.: Published by Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1934. Pp. vi, 269. To be reviewed later.
- DESCHÊNES, E. B. *L'apport de Cartier et de Jean Alfonse dans l'onomastique de la Gaspésie* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (7), juillet, 1934, 410-30). An examination of the place-names of Gaspé which date from the period of Cartier's discovery.
- EBERSOLE, HARRY B. *Early French exploration in the Lake Superior region* (Michigan history magazine, XVIII (2), spring, 1934, 121-34).
- FRÉMONT, DONATIEN. *Dix-huit mois prisonnier chez les Iroquois* (Canada français, XXI (10), juin, juillet, août, 1934, 928-45). This study forms the first chapter of the biography of Pierre Esprit Radisson, recently published by M. Frémont.

- GOBILLOT, RENÉ. *L'apport champenois à la colonisation du Canada*. (Conférence faite à la Legation du Canada, à Paris, le 25 nov., 1932.) Chalons sur Marne: Imprimerie du *Journal de la Marne*. A brilliant and enthusiastic eulogy of Maissonneuve, Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeoys, and Jean Talon. The author dwells on the "caractère merveilleux" of Canadian history, treating it as a sort of "légende dorée". (E. BURON.)
- HOLAND, HJALMAR R. *Radisson's two western journeys* (Minnesota history, XV (2), June, 1934, 157-80). The writer fixes the time of Radisson's two western expeditions by checking Radisson's narratives with entries in the contemporary journal of the Jesuits.
- KELLOGG, LOUISE PHELPS. *The tercentennial of the discovery of Wisconsin*. (Historical series.) [Madison, Wis.:] State Historical Society. 1934. Pp. 8. An account of Jean Nicolet and his discovery in 1634 of Lake Michigan and Green Bay.
- Lettre du ministre à MM. de Beauharnois et Hocquart* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (5), mai, 1934, 295-6). A letter dated Versailles, March 28, 1730, touching on numerous details of the internal administration of New France. Transcribed from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- LEWIS, BLANCHE McLEOD. *Along the north shore in Cartier's wake* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (5), May, 1934, 209-21). An illustrated description of the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, pointing out the points touched by Jacques Cartier.
- LICHTENBERGER, ANDRÉ. *Montcalm et la tragédie canadienne*. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1934. Pp. 244. To be reviewed later.
- Liste générale des intéressés en la compagnie de la colonie du Canada, et des actions qu'ils y ont prises* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 498-512). Dated 1709(?).
- MACDONALD, A. DE LÉRY. *Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, the engineer of Carillon* (New York history, XV (1), Jan., 1934, 31-8). Details concerning the life of the Canadian engineer, Chartier de Lotbinière, and particularly about his work at Ticonderoga carried out under the instructions of Vaudreuil.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *À propos d'inhumations* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (5), mai, 1934, 292-4).
- *Un cadet de Gascogne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (5), mai, 1934, 297). A brief note on Jean Baptiste Grenouillau, journeyman of Montreal in the 1750's.
- *Deux engagés de Cavelier de la Salle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (6), juin, 1934, 376-9). Notes on Jean Bazot and Charles Ptolomée.
- *Le Marquis de Crisafy, seigneur de la Côte-des-Neiges* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (7), juillet, 1934, 431-2). Some facts about the Marquis de Crisafy, lieutenant of the king at Montreal in 1697, at Quebec in 1699, and governor of Three Rivers from 1703-9, and about the Fief Crisafy, Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal.
- *La première mère de famille née à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 223). A note on Jeanne Loisel.
- *Un seigneur embarrassé* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 235-6). A note on the fief of Maricourt.
- *Remèdes populaires d'autrefois* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (6), juin, 1934, 360-3). Some curious medicinal remedies collected by the author in Champlain County, P.Q.
- Une pièce de procédure de 1725: Cause & moyens Dapel de Jean Amory, habitant dans le fief d'Argentenay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (5), mai, 1934, 309-18).
- ROQUEBRUNE, ROBERT de. *La découverte du Canada* (Revue de France, 14e année, no 14, 15 juillet, 1934, 268-84). The first part of an article which outlines the salient features of the background and causes of the discovery of America and Cartier's discovery of Canada.

ROY, C. E. *Cartier à Gaspé* (Canada français, XXI (9), mai, 1934, 827-37). An article under the headings "Le voyage—le séjour—les conséquences".

ROY, P. G. *Le Comte et Marquis d'Albergati Vezza* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 487-90). Biographical notes concerning an Italian exile who came to New France about 1755 with a French marine detachment.

— *Le sieur Abel Olivier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 224-6). Information concerning Abel Olivier, a naval captain of Quebec (1683-1768).

THOMAS, H. M. *The organization of national defence in the French régime* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (3), April, 1934, 346-55). An analysis of military organization in New France after the creation of "royal government" in 1663.

(3) British North America before 1867

ANDREWS, CHARLES M. *Our earliest colonial settlements: Their diversities of origin and later characteristics*. New York: New York University Press. 1933. Pp. vi, 179. (\$2.50) Sketches depicting the founding of the earlier English colonies. Of special interest to students of the history of Canada is the description of the unsuccessful attempt of Gilbert to found a colony in Newfoundland.

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *Jean Orillat* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 233-4). A note on Jean Orillat, merchant of Montreal, in the late eighteenth century.

The Baroness Riedesel's adventures (from her Life and letters) (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (4), July, 1934, 171-88). An account of the adventures of the Baroness Riedesel with Burgoyne's army in the autumn of 1777. With a number of charming illustrations.

BLACK, MARTHA MUNGER. *Alexander Hunter Murray* (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 1, June, 1934, 29-32). A sketch of an artist, explorer, and fur-trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, ninety years ago.

BURNETT, EDMUND C. (ed.) *Letters of members of the Continental Congress*. Vol. VII: *January 1, 1783, to December 31, 1784*. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, publication no. 299, vol. VII.) Washington, D.C.: Published by Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1934. Pp. lxxvii, 670. To be reviewed later.

A calculation of ordnance and ordnance stores wanted for the army of the northern department, made by order of the Honourable Major-General Schuyler (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (4), July, 1934, 190-1). Dated in camp at Ticonderoga, November 30, 1776.

CASWELL, E. S. *A sketch of Major John Small* (York Pioneer and Historical Society, report, 1933, 22-3). A brief biography of Major John Small who came to Canada with Governor Simcoe about 1791, with notes on some of his descendants.

From Colonel Anthony Wayne's orderly book (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (4), July, 1934, 191-8). Dated "Head Quarters", Ticonderoga, and Saratoga, November 20-30, 1776.

GAFFORD, LUCILE. *The Boston stage and the War of 1812* (New England quarterly, VII (2), June, 1934, 327-35). A survey of the theatre in Boston during the War of 1812, showing how the theatrical managers exploited the patriotic national spirit.

HEADLAM, CECIL (ed.) *Calendar of state papers, colonial series, America and West Indies, January, 1710 to February, 1720 and March, 1720 to December, 1721*. 2 vols. Preserved in the Public Record Office. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1933. Pp. lxii, 435; lxi, 588. (£1 10s. 0d.; 1 15s. 0d.) Official correspondence, orders-in-council, reports, etc., relating to the Atlantic colonies, are calendared, digested, or printed in full. These volumes contain considerable material on the Mississippi valley, and the country around the Great Lakes. The report of the Board of Trade of 1721 describes French advances in the back country and suggests measures for protection against these encroachments. Many of the papers indicate the problems of colonial currency, of the Acadians, etc.

- HUMPHREYS, R. A. *Historical revision: LXIX. British colonial policy and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (History, n.s. XIX (73), June, 1934, 42-8). A brief review of how recent research has modified earlier views on the period between the Peace of Paris and the Declaration of Independence, and a sketch of the movement to independence, which shows the need for further research and revision.
- Journal tenu pendant le siège du Fort Saint-Jean, en 1775, par feu M. Foucher, ancien notaire de Montréal* (suite et fin) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 197-222).
- Lady Harriet Acland* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (4), July, 1934, 165-7). A brief sketch of the adventures and character of Lady Harriet Ackland, whose husband took part in Burgoyne's campaign. She followed him to Canada and was in Montreal in the autumn of 1776.
- LONG, J. C. *Amherst in 1759* (New York history, XV (1), Jan., 1934, 50-8). An attempt to reconstruct the problems which faced Amherst in 1759 and to realize the extent of his achievements.
- MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS. *The poverty of the Illinois French* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXVII (2), July, 1934, 195-201). A picture of the poverty of the French in Illinois in the late eighteenth century.
- MACLEAN, HON. HUGH HAVELOCK. *The New Brunswick Loyalists* (Grand Manan historian, II, Aug., 1934, 5-8). A note on the Loyalists and on the Loyalists' Society of New Brunswick.
- MERK, FREDERICK. *Snake country expedition, 1824-25: An episode of fur trade and empire* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXI (1), June, 1934, 49-62). An account of the Hudson's Bay Company's expedition into the Snake valley of Oregon under the command of Peter Skene Ogden. This article is also published in the *Oregon historical quarterly*, XXXV (2), June, 1934.
(ed.) *The Snake country expedition correspondence, 1824-1825* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXI (1), June, 1934, 63-75). From the Hudson's Bay Company journal, no. 762 (in Hudson's Bay Company House, London).
- MULLINS, JANET E. *The Liverpool Packet* (Dalhousie review, XIV (2), July, 1934, 193-202). The story of a famous privateer of Liverpool, N.S., and her activities on the New England coast in the War of 1812.
- PEARKES, G. R. *Detroit and Miami* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (4), July, 1934, 456-66). A description of the capture of Detroit on August 16, 1812, and of an engagement which took place before the American fortress at the "foot of the rapids" of the Miami River in May, 1813.
- PELL, JOHN. *The Montgomery expedition* (New York history, XV (2), April, 1934, 184-9). A paper read at the meeting of the New York State Historical Association, at Ticonderoga, in 1933.
- ROBERTS, KENNETH LEWIS. *Rabble in arms: A chronicle of Arundel and the Burgoyne invasion*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1933. Pp. 870. (\$2.50) An historical romance, written in narrative style, of the Northern Army of the American Revolution in its defeats, retreats, and victories from Quebec to Saratoga, under Benedict Arnold, Schuyler, Sullivan, Gates, and Roche de Fermoy.
- SIFE, C. HALE. *Fort Légonier and its times: A history of the first English fort west of the Allegheny Mountains and an account of many thrilling, tragic, romantic, important but little known colonial and revolutionary events in the region where the winning of the west began*. Harrisburg: The Telegraph Press. 1932. Pp. xiii, 699. (\$3.50) Contains a detailed account of the contest with the French for Fort Duquesne, of Pontiac's War, of Bouquet's relief expedition, etc.

- TYRRELL, J. B. (ed.) *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*. Edited with introduction and notes. (Publications of the Champlain Society, XXI.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1934. Pp. xviii, 611. To be reviewed later.
- VERMEULE, CORNELIUS C. *The active Loyalists of New Jersey* (New Jersey Historical Society, April, 1934).
- WILSON, CHARLES MORROW. *Meriwether Lewis of Lewis and Clark*. New York: Crowell. 1934. Pp. xiii, 305.
- WILSON, CLIFFORD P. *Sir George Simpson at Lachine* (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 1, June, 1934, 36-9). "The first of a series of articles on Sir George Simpson and the Montreal headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company. The author of these articles has done much research in the archives of churches in the Province of Quebec and of the City of Montreal, producing unpublished material of this famous Scottish monarch of the fur trade monopoly."
- Women at war* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (4), July, 1934, 167-71). A few pages from the manuscript of the "State of the expedition" in General Burgoyne's handwriting, in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum Library, describing Lady Harriet Ackland's adventures in 1776 and 1777.
- (4) **The Dominion of Canada**
- BELCREDI, A. GOBBI. *Nella "tierra de los bacalaos": Il Canada e le sue risorse* (Le vie d'Italia e del mondo, Milan, I, 1933, 77-94).
- BREBNER, J. B. In each issue of *Current history*, Professor Brebner gives an analysis of present Canadian political and economic developments.
- FALCONER, SIR ROBERT. *Your northern neighbour* (Barnwell bulletin, printed for students and alumni of the Central High School of Philadelphia by the Mary Gaston Barnwell Foundation, the Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company, Trustee, XI (47), May, 1934: The Barnwell addresses, 17-30). Sir Robert describes to an audience in Philadelphia, Canada as a neighbour in terms of economics, politics, social life, and cultural standards.
- GAGNON, ONESIME. *L'évolution de l'autonomie canadienne* (Actualité économique, mai, 1934, 94-109). A review of the development of Canada as a sovereign state.
- GLAZEBROOK, G. deT. *International anarchy?* (Dalhousie review, XIV (2), July, 1934, 148-54). Some observations on Canada's position and policy with regard to foreign affairs, the League of Nations, and the collective system.
- GOLDENBERG, H. CARL. *Constitutional amendment in Canada* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 238-50). A round-table conference under the chairmanship of Professor A. Brady.
- GRANT, W. L. *The civil service of Canada* (University of Toronto quarterly, III (4), July, 1934, 428-38). An analysis of some of the problems in connection with the Canadian civil service.
- KEIRSTEAD, W. C. *The bases of the federal subsidies* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 134-61). Professor Keirstead discusses the historical and spatial, or logical, bases for the federal subsidies to the provinces, and suggests a policy with respect to future subsidies.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The Canadian parliament and titles of honour* (South African law times, III (4), April, 1934, 77-9). An account of the Canadian national attitude to honours with a brief sketch of the history of titles in Canada.
- KNAFLUND, PAUL (ed.) *Gladstone on the Red River Rebellion, 1870* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXI (1), June, 1934, 76-7). A letter from Gladstone to the colonial secretary, Lord Granville, dated March 7, 1870.

- [LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA.] *Report of annual meeting, 1934.* [124, Wellington Street, Ottawa.] Pp. 115. Contains addresses by the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, the Right Hon. R. B. Bennett, Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, Mrs. H. P. Plumptre, Mr. Escott Reid, Miss Agnes Macphail, Professor N. A. M. MacKenzie, and others, on "A foreign policy for Canada", "The development of Canadian machinery for directing our external relations", "The Canadian constitution and external affairs", "A programme for remembrance day", "The arms trade", and other topics.
- MAXWELL, J. A. *Provincial conferences and better terms* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 162-74). An outline of the several provincial conferences which have been held on the question of the federal subsidies.
- MORROW, RISING LAKE. *The negotiation of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1870* (American historical review, XXXIX (4), July, 1934, 663-81). An examination of the problem of citizenship in Anglo-American relations (especially with regard to the status in Ireland of naturalized Americans of Irish birth) and its effect on the negotiations over the Alabama claims and the San Juan boundary.
- PRITCHARD, H. L. *Colonel Sir Edouard Girouard, a memoir* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (3), April, 1934, 318-36). A sketch of the career of Colonel Sir Edouard P. C. Girouard, K.C.M.G., late R.E.
- REID, ESCOTT. *Canada and this next war: A long view of Canadian foreign policy* (Canadian forum, XIV (162), March, 1934, 207-9).
 ——— *A foreign policy for Canada* (Canadian forum, XIV (166), July, 1934, 379-82). The substance of a speech delivered in Ottawa before the twelfth annual meeting of the League of Nations Society in Canada.
- ROGERS, NORMAN McL. *The dead hand* (Canadian forum, XIV (167), Aug., 1934, 421-3). An approach to the problem of revision of the B.N.A. Act.
- SHOTWELL, JAMES T. *The heritage of freedom: The United States and Canada in the community of nations.* (Pearson Kirkman Marfleet lectures at the University of Toronto.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. xii, 136. To be reviewed later.
- STACEY, C. P. *Lord Monck and the Canadian nation* (Dalhousie review, XIV (2), July, 1934, 179-91). An assessment of Monck's services to Canada in the critical era of Confederation.
- STEELE, HARWOOD. *The mounties take the west* (Canadian magazine, July, 1934, 6, 46-7). An account of the march of the Royal Mounted Police from Winnipeg to the Rockies in 1874.
- STEVENSON, J. A. *Canadian foreign policy* (Pacific affairs, VII (2), June, 1934, 153-62). A review of the recent stimulation in Canada of interest in foreign affairs and of Canadian opinion on foreign policy.
 ——— *An N.R.A. for Canada?* (Fortnightly review, July, 1934, 75-84). Observations on the effect on Canada of the N.R.A. programme, on the Stevens inquiry into current business practices and industrial conditions in Canada, on the Natural Products Marketing Act, and on the necessity of revising the B.N.A. Act.
- TASCHEREAU, L. A. *Whither are we drifting?* (Empire review, no. 397, Feb., 1934, 75-7). Reflections on Canada's ultimate destiny: attachment to the British Empire, annexation to the United States, or independence.
- U., F. H. *The B.N.A. Act* (Canadian forum, XIV (162), March, 1934, 205-7). Opinions on the question of the amendment of the B.N.A. Act.
- WOODS, DAMON C. *Constitutional interpretation in Canada* (American Bar Association journal, March, 1934).

YEIGH, FRANK (comp.) *5000 facts about Canada*, 1934 edition. Toronto: Canadian Facts Publishing Company, 588 Huron Street. 1934. Pp. 72. (35 cents) The 1934 edition of this useful and practical little reference booklet continues to give the highlights of Canadian progress. The "facts" are arranged alphabetically and cover a wide variety of subjects, such as banks, education, finance, forestry, manufacturing, mining, railways, and trade.

[YORK PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TORONTO.] *Report for the year 1933*. 1934. Pp. 48. Contains, as well as the society's report for the year, several papers on local history which are listed separately in this bibliography.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

BELDING, A. M. *The man-product of a rural area* (Dalhousie review, XIV (2), July, 1934, 221-33). A survey of a small area in the Maritimes (the village of Apohaqui, in Kings County, N.B., and the country round it) and of its "man-product", which reveals a notable list of men who attained eminence in public life.

CHARLES, BUCHANAN. *Moses Gerrish* (Grand Manan historian, I, May, 1934, 4). A brief biographical note on Moses Gerrish (1744-1830), the leader of the settlers of Grand Manan, N.B.

The settling of Grand Manan (Grand Manan historian, I, May, 1934, 1-3). A brief annotated story of the settlement of Grand Manan Island.

The Grand Manan historian. Nos. I and II. May and August, 1934. Grand Manan Island, N.B.: Grand Manan Historical Society. Pp. 4; 8. (25 cents a copy; \$1.00 a year) The publication of this bulletin devoted to the history of the Island of Grand Manan, at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, is made possible through the generosity of Mrs. Edward B. Kellogg of Boston. *The historian* is founded as a feature of the sesqui-centennial of the settling of Grand Manan which took place on May 6, 1784.

KEIRSTEAD, W. C. *The claims of the Maritimes* (Maclean's magazine, 1934, Feb. 1, 22, 38-9; Feb. 15, 22, 42-3). An analysis of Maritime "rights", and of how much the Maritimes have suffered from the transportation, fiscal, and economic policies of the federation.

ROBERTS, THEODORE GOODRIDGE. *Fredericton* (Maclean's magazine, Nov. 15, 1933, 24, 32-3). Historical and personal impressions of the capital of New Brunswick.

ROBINSON, BERTON E. *The orchard of Nova Scotia* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (1), July, 1934, 23-9). An illustrated historical description of the Annapolis valley, N.S.

WARD, L. A. *Nova Scotia, the Maritime Arcadia* (Empire review, no. 397, Feb., 1934, 111-4). Sidelights on interesting features of Nova Scotia.

(2) The Province of Quebec

L'ARCHEVÊQUE-DUGUAY, JEANNE. *Écrin*. (Pages trifluviennes, série C, no. 5.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du *Bien public*. 1934. Pp. 86. Impressions in prose and poetry of events in the history of Three Rivers.

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *Les députés de la région des Trois-Rivières (1841-1867)*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 13.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du *Bien public*. 1934. Pp. 92. To be reviewed later.

BOUILLON, A. *Au grand jour ou les évolutions d'une paroisse canadienne*. Joigny: Éditions Vulliez. 1926. Pp. 362. This story of a parish established as late as 1885 is typical of the pioneer spirit still existing in newly opened settlements. It tells the reader how comfortable homes are still being carved out of the Canadian forest. (G. LANCTOT.)

- COLVILLE, HAZEL. *Le Manoir de Repentigny*. Toronto: Golden Dog Press. 1934. Pp. 4. A beautifully printed and decorated little pamphlet, giving the history of the manor. Mrs. Colville, the present owner, has accomplished a remarkably fine piece of work in modernizing the old house while restoring it as nearly as possible to its original condition.
- GÉRIN, LÉON. *La famille canadienne-française* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 20ème année, no. 78, juin, 1934, 113-30). An interesting analysis of the life, culture, and social condition of two representative French-Canadian families in the district of Lake Saint Pierre in Quebec.
- HARVEY, JEAN CHARLES. *Les demi-civilisés*. Montreal: Éditions du Totem. 1934. Pp. 223. (75 cents) This rather melodramatic novel, written as a Byronic autobiography of life in the City of Quebec, owes a good deal to Rousseau. It is an embittered commentary on the principal aspects of French-Canadian life, lamenting the absence of all kinds of liberty, blaming the church, law, and politics, and praising only the peasantry and the sisters of charity. (J.B.B.)
- LAMONTAGNE-BEAUREGARD, BLANCHE. *Un joli coin de notre province: Rougemont* (Canada français, XXI (9), mai, 1934, 823-6). A description of the village of Rougemont, thirty miles from Montreal, in the direction of Saint Hyacinthe.
- M., C. *Grand'mère: Modèle mauricien des villes jeunes* (Bien public, Les Trois-Rivières, numero du 3e centenaire, 31 mai, 1934, 22). A description of the town of Grand'mère, its development and its industries.
- MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Henry Blackstone, shérif des Trois-Rivières* (Bien public, Les Trois-Rivières, numero du 3e centenaire, 31 mai, 1934, 26). A biographical sketch of Henry Blackstone (1763-1852). The author has been assisted by manuscript notes of Benjamin Sulte and he has consulted documents hitherto unused, at the Public Archives at Ottawa.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les maisons de bois d'autrefois* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (7), juillet, 1934, 447-8). Some information, taken from the Archives of Montreal, about wooden houses in Montreal in the French régime.
- *Le premier briquetier européen à Montréal?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 232-3).
- *Sainte-Geneviève de Batiscan* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 492-7). Some notes on the history of the parish and church of Sainte-Geneviève de Batiscan, P.Q., particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- *Vide-bouteille et haute folie* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 458-9). An attempt to explain the meaning and origin of the names of two houses in Montreal in the seventeenth century.
- [QUEBEC, PROVINCE OF: DEPARTMENT OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.] *Statistical year book of Quebec, 1933*. 20th year. Quebec: Rédempti Paradis. 1933. Pp. xxix, 505. To be reviewed later.
- Quelques grandes figures du passé trifluvien* (Bien public, Les Trois-Rivières, numero du 3e centenaire, 31 mai, 1934, 3). Short notes on Jacques Hertel, the first colonist of Three Rivers, Père Buteux, the first missionary, le sieur de Lavolette, the founder of the city, Jean Nicolet, and La Vérendrye.
- Registres de l'état civil du district judiciaire de Chicoutimi, déposés au bureau du protonotaire, à Chicoutimi* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 463-4).
- Registres de l'état civil du district judiciaire de Roberval, déposés au bureau du protonotaire, à Roberval* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 465-6).
- ROY, P. G. *Les shérifs de Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (7), juillet, 1934, 433-46). Biographical notes on the sheriffs of Quebec from 1776 to 1934: James Shepherd, Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, William Smith Sewell, Thomas Ainslie Young, the Hon. Charles Alleyn, the Hon. Etienne-Théodore Paquet, the Hon. Charles-Antoine-Ernest Gagnon, the Hon. Charles Langelier, Jean-Cléophas Blouin, the Hon. Lauréat Lapierre.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Trois-Rivières d'autrefois*. Quatrième série. Études éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE compilées, annotées et publiées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. (Mélanges historiques, vol. 21.) Montréal: G. Ducharme, Libraire-Éditeur, 995, rue Saint-Laurent. 1934. Pp. 96. To be reviewed later.

TESSIER, ALBERT. *À travers trois cents ans d'histoire* (Bien public, Les Trois-Rivières, numero du 3e centenaire, 31 mai, 1934, 2). A brief sketch of the history and development of Three Rivers.

WOOD, WILLIAM *et al* (eds.) *The storied province of Quebec: Past and present*. 4 volumes. Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Company, Limited. 1931. Pp. xii, 622; 623-1164; 216; 217-529. (\$42.50; de luxe edition, \$65.00) The first two volumes of this set are a compendium of information—the first of its kind—on the history, geography, and present development of the Province of Quebec. The various regions of the province are described, with numerous short notes on individual communities. Special chapters are devoted to governmental services, churches, education, journalism, banking, industries, law, medicine, *etc.* The material is in part a compilation and in part was specially prepared for this work, the chapters on the Catholic Church by the Rev. Canon Scott and on medicine by Dr. Maude E. Abbott being worthy of special note. The historical sections are extensive: Colonel William Wood deals with Quebec and the province in general; Professor W. H. Atherton with Montreal. The two volumes provide a useful work of reference for the general reader rather than the special student. Volumes three and four are given to biographical sketches, many of them of purely local interest.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BULL, WM. PERKINS. *From medicine man to medical man: A record of a century and a half of progress in health and sanitation as exemplified by developments in Peel*. (The Perkins Bull historical series, [vol I].) Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation. George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1934. Pp. xviii, 457. (\$10.00) To be reviewed later.

DAVIES, BLODWEN. *Margaret Hall discovers Upper Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (5), May, 1934, 201-8). Extracts from the Canadian letters of Margaret Hall who accompanied her husband, Captain Basil Hall, on a tour of Upper Canada in 1827. These letters are in the possession of the Library of Congress.

— *Muddy York* (New outlook, March 14, 1934, 176).

DIX, EDWARD. *Toronto's hundred years* (Maclean's magazine, March 1, 1934, 12, 34). Passing sidelights on Toronto's history and the men who made it.

ELLIOTT, THOMAS E. *On my grandfather's farm* (York Pioneer and Historical Society, report, 1933, 16-20). Interesting reminiscences of early days in the vicinity of Woodbridge, Ontario.

The first Congregational church in Toronto; The first Methodist church in Toronto; The first Presbyterian church in Toronto (New outlook, March 14, 1934, 166-7). Brief items of ecclesiastical history.

GUILLET, EDWIN. *Toronto: From trading post to great city*. With 167 illustrations, selected and arranged by the author. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company. 1934. Pp. xxii, 496. (\$7.50) Reviewed on page 312.

— *A view of York (Toronto) in 1834* (New outlook, March 14, 1934, 170-1).

JACKSON, H. M. *A hundred years of muddy York* (Canadian magazine, July, 1934, 15, 23). A brief history of Old Fort York and of the Queen's Rangers.

MAJOR, FREDERICK WILLIAM. *Manitoulin Island* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (6), June, 1934, 291-6). An illustrated description of Manitoulin Island in Georgian Bay.

MAJOR, FREDERICK WILLIAM (comp.) *Manitoulin, the isle of the Ottawas: Being a handbook of historical and other information on the Grand Manitoulin Island*. Gore Bay, Ont.: The Recorder Press. 1934. Pp. iv, 84. The articles in this little booklet were printed originally in the *Gore Bay Recorder*. The author's intention was "to record certain information gleaned over a period of twenty-five years of close contact with the people and affairs of the island", and he has produced a useful little volume which touches on almost every phase of the island's history and development. The headings of some of the articles are an indication of the scope of the book: "An outline history of Manitoulin, Manitoulin 1600 to 1800, Bishop Strachan's visitation, Indian place names, Methodism on Manitoulin, Presbyterianism on Manitoulin, Manitoulin as an oil field, Navigation, The fishing industry", etc.

MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. *Kenté* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, IV (3), juillet-sept., 1934, 300-7). A search into the history and position of the early French Sulpician mission on the Bay of Quinte, Ontario.

MIDDLETON, JESSE EDGAR. *Toronto's 100 years*. Toronto. The Centennial Committee. [Southam Press.] 1934. Pp. viii, 227. (50 cents paper; \$2.00 cloth) Reviewed on page 312.

The new outlook for March 14, 1934 (n.s. 10, no. 11) is a special issue to celebrate the centenary of the incorporation of the City of Toronto. It contains a number of interesting articles on the early days of the city, several of which are listed separately in this bibliography.

The *News chronicle* of Port Arthur issued on June 23 last an edition of eighty pages in honour of that city's fiftieth anniversary. The paper has many interesting illustrations and contains valuable historical information regarding the early days of the settlement. Special articles deal with municipal growth, and with churches, schools, journalism, navigation, mining, lumbering, grain storage, military matters, entertainments, and other topics. The editor has clearly given much care to the preparation of this issue and has turned out a commendable piece of work.

The Perkins Bull collection: Historical paintings by Canadian artists illustrating pioneers and pioneering in the County of Peel. Printed privately for the founder of the collection at the town of Brampton in the County of Peel. [The Charters Press.] 1934. Pp. 143. To be reviewed later.

THOMAS, H. M. *Social conditions in Upper Canada, 1834* (New outlook, March 14, 1934, 172-3, 178).

WATCH, C. W. *A great quartette of old Ontarians: Bishop John Strachan, William Lyon Mackenzie, Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Hon. George Brown: A story of contrasts and conflicts—of romance and humor* (York Pioneer and Historical Society, report, 1933, 11-5). Four portraits—a paper read before the society.

WEAVER, EMILY P. *Toronto of 1834 as a city to live in* (New outlook, March 14, 1934, 173).

(4) The Prairie Provinces

BRITNELL, G. E. *Economic conditions in rural Saskatchewan* (Canadian forum, XIV (162), March, 1934, 209-11). Observations on standards of living in Saskatchewan before and after the depression, and on the state of agriculture to-day.

DAWSON, C. A. *The settlement of the Peace River country: A study of a pioneer area*. Assisted by R. W. MURCHIE. (Canadian frontiers of settlement, edited by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, VI.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xii, 284. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

DELARUE-MARDRUS, LUCIE. *Le far-west d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Fasquelle éditeurs, 11, rue de Grenelle. 1932. Pp. 206. (12 fr.) To be reviewed later.

Facing conditions in Canada: A young migrant's experiences and impressions (United empire, XXV (7), July, 1934, 434-5). Two communications from a young immigrant giving impressions of farming conditions in Alberta.

Fort Maurepas: Comments received on the article on Fort Maurepas published in the March issue (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 1, June, 1934, 14-5, 63). A discussion on the site of the original Fort Maurepas, in the present Province of Manitoba.

MILES, FLORENCE ELDER. *River of rock* (Maclean's magazine, May 1, 1934, 13, 54-5). An account of the rock-slide which swept over the town of Frank, Alberta, on April 29, 1903.

SCHULTZ, P. JOH. *Kunterbuntes aus der Bonifatiusmission am Biberflus* (Monatsblätter der Oblaten der Unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria, Hünfeld, Hessen-Nassau, 41st annual vol., June, 1934, 176-80). A short account of conditions between St. Walburg (Sask.) and Bear River.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The poor man's trail* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (1), July, 1934, 3-13). Stories of the "poor man's trail" of '98, which struck the Skeena River at Hazelton and followed it upwards to the Stikine heights.

BOLTON, HERBERT EUGENE. *Font's complete diary: A chronicle of the founding of San Francisco*. Translated from the original Spanish manuscript. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. 1933. Pp. 552 (\$4.00) Reviewed on page 310.

CLAYTON, H. *The sea patrol of B.C.* (Blackwood's magazine, Aug., 1934, 276-84). A picture of life and work on one of the patrol boats of the British Columbia provincial police and a description of a journey up the Alberni Canal, B.C.

ESSIG, E. O., OGDEN, ADELE, and DUFOUR, C. F. *The Russians in California*. San Francisco: California Historical Society (reprinted from its *Quarterly*, vol. XII). 1933. Pp. 88. To be reviewed later.

FARRELLY, THEODORE S. *Early Russian contact with Alaska* (Pacific affairs, VII (2), June, 1934, 193-7).

McCLAY, S. *A world port in the making* (Empire review, no. 403, Aug., 1934, 80-6). An historical and descriptive sketch of Vancouver.

PIPES, NELLIE B. (ed.) *Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (2), June, 1934, 139-67). The second part of the publication of portions of the journal of a Methodist missionary to Oregon.

STONE, JOHN. *Banff to Jasper* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (6), June, 1934, 259-66). The description of a journey.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

BLANCHET, G. H. *In the land of the muskox* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (6), June, 1934, 249-58). The story of the muskoxen of the Canadian barren lands.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Should the N.W.T. shut the door?* (Maclean's magazine, May 15, 1934, 26, 51-2). An historical discussion of the exploitation of the Canadian north by the white trader.

GRENFELL, Sir WILFRED. *The romance of Labrador*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xiv, 329. Reviewed on page 320.

HUTCHISON, ISOBEL W. *Around Arctic Alaska* (Blackwood's magazine, July, 1934, 33-42). The description of a journey by motor-schooner from Nome to Point Barrow and Herschel Island.

Land rights on James Bay (El Palacio, Sante Fe, XXXIII, 1932, 174-5).

- WYATT, A. G. N. *Surveying cruises of H.M.S. Challenger off the coast of Labrador in 1932 and 1933* (Geographical journal, LXXXIV (1), July, 1934, 33-53).

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

- ADDIS, Sir CHARLES. *Canada and its banks* (Quarterly review, July, 1934, 41-55). An historical outline of the Canadian banking system and its position to-day.
- BAUER, JOHN. *Public utilities: United States and Canada* (Encyclopaedia of the social sciences edited by EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN et al, XII, 1934, 677-83). A history and classification of public utilities in Canada and the United States.
- [CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.] *Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting*, vol. VI. Montreal, Quebec, May, 1934. Kingston, Ont.: The Jackson Press. 1934. Pp. 284. To be reviewed later. The papers relating to Canadian history are entered separately in this list.
- D., A. *Une fabrique de pipes de plâtre à Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (6), juin, 1934, 380-1). A note on Mr. Bell's pipe manufactory at Petite-Rivière, near Quebec, in 1873.
- GIRARD, Chanoine JOS. *La goudronnerie de la Baie Saint-Paul* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 467-86). A history of the tar industry at Baie St. Paul, P.Q. This instalment deals with the beginnings of the industry under Talon and Duchesneau.
- GREENE, WILLIAM HOWE. *The wooden walls among the ice floes telling the romance of the Newfoundland seal fishery*. London: Hutchinson and Company. 1933. Pp. xix, 298. Reviewed on page 320.
- HARRIS, ERIC. *The new deal in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. 139. (\$1.25) An attempt to examine the economic and social situation as it exists in Canada to-day, and to suggest a programme for intelligent improvement of the present system.
- HAZLITT, RUTH (trans. and ed.) *Journal of Francois Antoine Larocque, 1805* (Frontier and midland, March and May, 1934). The first two instalments of a journal which is of interest in the history of the fur-trade and which has already been translated and edited by L. J. Burpee and published as no. 3 of the publications of the Canadian Archives, 1910 (volume now very rare).
- HEMMEON, J. C. *Trade and tariffs in the British North American provinces before Confederation* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 51-9). A study with special reference to the Maritime Provinces.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les chevaliers du travail* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 452-3). A brief account of the Canadian activities of the "knights of labour" or "chevaliers du travail", a secret order of journeymen, workmen, and artisans founded in Philadelphia in 1869.
- *L'industrie papetière au Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 248-9).
- PARIZEAU, GÉRARD. *Notes et documents sur l'évolution de l'assurance contre l'incendie au Canada*. II (Actualité économique, 10 année, nos. 3 et 4, juin-juillet, 1934, 166-82). The second part of an historical study of fire insurance in Canada.
- ROWE, R. C. *The St. Maurice forges* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (1), July, 1934, 15-22). An illustrated history of the St. Maurice Forges near Three Rivers, P.Q.

(2) Communications

- BEATTY, E. W. *The Canadian transportation problem* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 108-33). A diagnosis of Canada's transportation problems, preceded by an historical reference to their growth and background. Followed by discussion by Mr. J. L. McDougall and Professor H. A. Innis.
- BLADEN, M. L. *Construction of railways in Canada. Part II: From 1885 to 1931* (University of Toronto studies, Contributions to Canadian economics, VII, 1934, 61-107). A continuation of the list which was published in the *Contributions* for 1932 (vol. V), together with an index of the two parts. Part II is arranged geographically from eastern to western Canada, presenting material on a whole section or a whole branch line.
- BROWN, ROBERT R. *Wooden rails* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (7), July, 1934, 7, 23). A history of some of the queer little railways that were ancestors of the C.N.R. This article is adapted from an article previously published in the *Bulletin* of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society.
- DESCHÊNES, EDMUND. *The Central Vermont (Across the system)* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX (6), June, 1934, 4-5, 27). The Central Vermont Railway extends from St. Johns, Que., with connections at that point with Canadian National Railways, its parent company, through the States of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, terminating with New York City.
- FULLERTON, ELMER G. *Pioneer flying in the Canadian sub-Arctic* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (4), July, 1934, 411-31). An account of the first aeroplane flight into the Mackenzie River district in 1921.
- HUDSON, T. C. *The southern Ontario district (Across the system)* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX(7), July, 1934, 8-9, 33).
- MOODIE, W. T. *The northern Ontario district (Across the system)* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XX(8), Aug., 1934, 6-7).
- The St. Lawrence Waterway* (Round table, MCMXXXIV (95), June, 1934, 548-62). Correspondents from the United States and Canada explain their national points of view on the defeat of the St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty.
- WAYLING, THOMAS. *Traffic in the sky* (Canadian magazine, July, 1934, 8-9). Plans for, and problems of, extending Canadian air transport.
- *Vancouver to London—3 days* (Canadian magazine, June, 1934, 13, 50-1). A discussion of the future of air transportation with special reference to Canada.
- WILSON, H. B. *Economic objections to the St. Lawrence Waterway project* (Public utilities fortnightly, March 1, 1934.)
- (3) Immigration, Emigration, and Colonization
- GODWIN, GEORGE. *Non-British elements in Canada* (Fortnightly review, Aug., 1934, 217-23). Notes particularly the drift into the United States of French and English Canadians, and the "Americanisation" of Canada.
- HEDGES, JAMES B. *The federal railway land subsidy policy of Canada.* (Harvard historical monographs, III.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. viii, 151. To be reviewed later.
- HURD, W. B. *Population movements in Canada 1921-31, and their implications* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 220-37).
- LEMIEUX, O. A., CUMORE, S. A., MACLEAN, M. C., PELLETIER, A. J., and TRACEY, W. R. *Factors in the growth of rural population in eastern Canada* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 196-219). With an appendix of statistical papers.

- MACDONALD, NORMAN. *English land tenure on the North American continent: A summary* (University of Toronto studies, Contributions to Canadian economics, VII, 1934, 21-44). A careful diagnosis of colonial land policy and regulation in the Thirteen Colonies, and in Canada after 1763.
- MACKENZIE, N. A. M. and FINKLEMAN, J. *The status of aliens in Canada* (Papers and proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, 60-93). A round-table conference under the chairmanship of Professor H. F. Angus.
- MARCHBIN, ANDREW A. *Early emigration from Hungary to Canada* (Slavonic review, XIII (37), July, 1934, 127-38).
- "Greek" Gypsies: *An opportunity for research* (Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, third series, XIII (2), 1934, 124-32).
- *Gypsy immigration to Canada* (Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, third series, XIII (3), 1934, 134-44). These three articles, which are the result of new and original research, are extracts from a large work on the history of immigration to Canada since 1867, which will shortly be ready for publication and which will deal with racial groups and with the origin of south-eastern European immigration to Canada. The article on emigration from Hungary tells the story of Count Paul O. Esterházy and his project of settlement in the north-west in the 1880's. The article on "Greek" Gypsies is a survey by several scholars, the material having been supplied by Mr. Marchbin, and it gives information about Canadian Gypsies travelling between Canada and England. Mr. Marchbin is well qualified to write on gypsy immigration, having worked on the subject for his doctorate thesis at Zurich.
- Les noms Canadiens traduits en Anglais* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 491). A list of some names of French-Canadian emigrants to the United States which were translated into English, and their English equivalents.

(4) Geography

- BLANCHARD, RAOUL. *L'Amérique du nord: États-Unis, Canada et Alaska*. (Géographie pour tous.) Paris: A. Fayard & Cie. 1933. Pp. 398. To be reviewed later.
- HAMILTON, RAPHAEL N. *The early cartography of the Missouri valley* (American historical review, XXXIX (4), July, 1934, 645-62). A paper showing on what knowledge the cartographers based the various changes and developments which were made in the early maps of the Missouri valley.
- SANDERS, E. M. *The world and the British Empire*. London: George Philip and Son, 32 Fleet Street. 1933. Pp. iv, 96. (2s. 6d.) A little book intended to illustrate a series of lessons on the geography of the world, with special reference to the British Empire, and with special stress on the economic side of the study—i.e., products, commerce, etc. The style is simple and interesting and practical exercises for the child are provided at the end of each section. There are 67 photographic illustrations and a number of maps. The book should be of considerable value to the teacher of elementary geography.
- SYKES, SIR PERCY. *A history of exploration, from the earliest times to the present day*. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1934. Pp. xiv, 374. (25s.)

V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

- BYERS, ISA M. (convener). *Report of the Canadian school history textbook survey under the auspices of the Toronto branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*. Reports of readers correlated and appraised by Professor PETER SANDIFORD. Toronto: Published for the Toronto W.I.L.P.F. by the Baptist Book Room, 223 Church Street, Toronto. [1934.] Pp. 67. A survey of text-books in history in order to test their conformity to standards of scientific history and objective impartiality. Reports of the books were given by 57 competent and qualified readers from various parts of Canada and these reports were correlated and appraised by Professor Peter Sandiford, director of educational research in the University of Toronto. Copies of the survey may be obtained from Mrs. C. B. Sissons, National Secretary W.I.L.P.F., 64 Admiral Road, Toronto.

LASH, G. C. *Educating young Canada* (Empire review, no. 400, May, 1934, 306-7). A note on travelling schools in northern Ontario.

VI. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BOTT, B. und TUCKERMANN, W. *Alberta* (Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Ausland-Deutschtums, Breslau, Ferdinand Hirt, 1934, I, part 2, 83-5). This ambitious publication, appearing in numbers, will ultimately consist of five quarto volumes of some 3,000 pages. As the title indicates, the volumes will cover the whole of the history, culture, sociology, and location of German settlements spread all over the world outside the *Reich*. Hence, of course, the publication being arranged alphabetically, we find the first section dealing with the Germans in Canada under the heading of Alberta, and, no doubt, in time all the other provinces will be dealt with in due order as the work of publication proceeds. Judging by the article under review the work will be quite carefully done, and the inclusion of maps is useful, and would be more useful if more names of towns were given. A background to the many statistics is presented in the shape of historical, geographical, and meteorological material. The authors are wrong when they say (p. 85) that the result of the 1926 censuses of the three Prairie Provinces have not been published, as the three volumes appeared in 1927-8, and thus there was no need (as the authors state) to hark back to the general census of 1921. (L. HAMILTON)

CELESTE, Sister MARY. *The Miami Indians prior to 1700* (Mid-America, XVI (4), n.s. V, April, 1934, 225-34). A paper dealing with three phases of the Miami tribe of the Chicago area, (a) their original habitat; (b) the direction and extent of their migration; (c) the missionary work done among them before the eighteenth century.

EGENOLF, P. LUDWIG. *Aus der sonnigen Heimat zurück in die Eismission* (Monatsblätter der Oblaten der Unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria, Hünfeld, Hessen-Nassau, XLI (5), May, 1934, 142-8). This article, and the one by Père JOSEF SCHULTE, listed below, are written by two missionary priests of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate whose work in Arctic and sub-Arctic Canada has been made familiar to many by such works as those written by the Rev. P. Duchaussois and Miss Katherine Hughes. This article deals with the return of Father Egenolf to his work among the Indians at St. Peter's Mission on Reindeer Lake. Both articles are well documented by photographs. The *Monatsblätter* have been appearing regularly every month for the last forty-one years and there is hardly a number that does not contain an article on the work of the "apostles of the north-west" among the Indians and Eskimo. Aside from the mission work, the sociological information is particularly valuable, and a good deal of information is given about pioneer life in Canada as well. (L. HAMILTON)

HABIG, MARION A. *The Franciscan Père Marquette: A critical biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M. La Salle's chaplain and missionary companion, 1645 (ca.)-1689*. With maps and original narratives. (Franciscan studies, no. 13, June, 1934.) New York: Joseph F. Wagner. 1934. Pp. xiii, 301. To be reviewed later.

IRVING, M. S. L. *Le Frère Pacifique Duplessis, notre premier instituteur* (Bien public, Les Trois-Rivières, numero du 3e centenaire, 31 mai, 1934, 34). An account of a Récollet missionary who began the mission at Three Rivers in 1617.

Jacques Buteux: *Le premier évangéliste de la région du St-Maurice (1634-1652)*. (Pages trifluviennes, série B, no. 6.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du Bien public. 1934. Pp. 93. To be reviewed later.

JUCHEREAU-DUCHESNAY, E. *Notre église engloutie* (Canada français, XXI (9), mai, 1934, 846-58). The ecclesiastical story of Saint Thomas de Montmagny.

KELLS, EDNA. *Elizabeth McDougall, pioneer*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House. (35 cents) The story of the wife of a Methodist pioneer minister in the north-west.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *L'Abbé Remy et ses testaments* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 227-8). A note on the Sulpician priest, the Abbé Pierre Remy.

MIROT, ALBERT. *Un projet de fondation d'une séminaire des missions étrangères en 1646* (Revue d'histoire des missions, Sept., 1933). A learned study on Henri de Lévis, Duke of Ventadour, grantee of the right of collecting the *Dernier à Dieu* in the fairs and markets, etc., the collection to be applied to the founding of a seminary for the missions of New France. (E. BURON)

MONVAL, JEAN. *Les Sulpiciens*. (Dans la collection "Les grands ordres monastiques", dirigée par M. SCHNEIDER.) Paris: Librairie Bernard Grasset. (15 fr.) Includes material on the Sulpician order in Canada.

SCHULTE, JOSEF. *Deutsche Katholiken in Kanada feiern Fronleichnam* (Monatsblätter der Oblaten der Unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria, Hünfeld, Hessen-Nassau, XLI (5), May, 1934, 139-42). An article dealing with the German Catholics in Saskatchewan.

STEWART, ALEXANDER MCGINN. *René Menard, 1605-1661*. Rochester, N.Y.: Privately printed. 1934. Pp. 76. A study of the life of Father Menard, much of whose work was done in the Huron country, on the Ottawa River, and in the country bordering on Georgian Bay. This little volume was prepared in connection with the naming of a state highway bridge over the Seneca River and was published in the *Catholic courier* of Rochester.

VII. GENEALOGY.

La famille Aubin de L'Isle (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (8), août, 1934, 449-51).

La famille Foucher de Labrador (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 250-2).

La famille Marsolet de Saint-Aignan (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (7), juillet, 1934, 385-409).

La famille Nicolet (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (5), mai, 1934, 298-300).

NANTEL, MARÉCHAL. *La famille Nantel* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (6), juin, 1934, 369-75).

ROY, P. G. *La famille Coffin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 229-32).

— *La famille Gaultier de Comporté* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (6), juin, 1934, 321-52).

— *La famille Lajus* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (4), avril, 1934, 243-7).

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